Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-87-239
Monday
14 December 1987

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-87-239 14 December 1987

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Warsaw Pact Leaders Continue Meeting 1
- Honecker Hosts Dinner *[ADN]* 1
- Honecker Banquet Toast *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12-13 Dec]* 1
- Honecker Leads Farewell *[ADN]* 2
- Poland's Jaruzelski Leaves *[ADN]* 3
- CSSR's Husak Leaves *[ADN]* 3

Romania's Toto Departs *[ADN]* 3
Warsaw Socialist Capital Cities Meeting Ends *[ADN]* 3
CPCZ's Kapek, MSZMP's Havasi Sign Agreement *[Prague]* 3
CEMA Legal Affairs Commission Meets in Prague *[Brabec in Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Dec]* 3

ALBANIA

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Aims 'Arouse Worry' 5
SFRY Trade Delegation Arrives 10 December 6
- Carcani Receives Krekic *[TANJUG]* 6
- Trade Protocol Signed 6

Commissions Prepare for Assembly Session 7
Myftiu Attends Meeting on Productivity 7
Role of People's Councils Analyzed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 4 Dec]* 7
Economic Progress Report for 6-12 December 8
Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-13 December 8

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Speaks on CW Ban 9
Zhivkov Returns From Pact Meeting 10 Dec 9
Radio-TV Cooperation Protocol With PRC Signed 9
Polish-Bulgarian Trade Protocol Signed *[Warsaw PAP]* 9
SFRY Daily BORBA Holds 'Interest, Importance' *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 9 Dec]* 9
Todorov Meets Danish Party Leaders 10
Balev Meets Israeli CP Politburo Member 10
Dyulgerov, TU Delegation Departs for India 11
BCP Delegation Received by Mozambican Leader 11
National Assembly Ends 7th Session 10 Dec 11
Importance of New Parliament Laws Cited 11
Leaders' Appearances 2-12 December 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Returns From Warsaw Pact Meeting 14
CSSR-Soviet Friendship Union Congress Meets 14
- Bilak Speaks on Restructuring 14
- Further on Bilak 15
- Congress Meetings End 16

Chnoupek Reacts to U.S.-USSR Treaty *[Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Dec]* 16
INF Treaty 'Cornerstone of New Future' *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Dec]* 17
- U.S.-USSR Relations Viewed *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Dec]* 18

CSSR's Contribution to INF Treaty Noted *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Dec]* 18
West European Views of INF Treaty Noted *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Dec]* 19
Hungarian TV Interviews CPCZ's Jan Fojtik 19
Human Rights Meeting Disrupted *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Dec]* 23

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Warsaw Pact Meeting *[14 Dec]* 26
Commentator Praises Reagan-Gorbachev Summit 27
Further on Visit by SERV's Mikulic 27
Gives Banquet Toast *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Dec]* 27
'Special Friendship' With Italy Noted *[Rome ANSA]* 29
24,621 Prisoners Released Under Amnesty 29
Seven Human Rights Detainees Released *[DPA]* 29
Mittag Addresses Technology Congress *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5-6 Dec]* 30

HUNGARY

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Results Lauded 32
Szuros Hails INF Accords 32
Varkonyi Views INF Treaty 32
Budapest Radio on Accord 33
Kadar Returns From Pact Meeting 34
Havasi Returns From Warsaw Visit 35
Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits 7-12 Dec 35
Hungarian-SERV Talks Sign of Cooperation *[MAGYAR NEMZET 9 Dec]* 35
Soviets, Hungarians Demand Civil Rights *[DIE PRESSE 11 Dec]* 35
Situation of Conscientious Objectors Reported *[Vienna]* 36

POLAND

Protests Mark Eve of Martial Law Anniversary 37
'Hundreds' Demonstrate in Gdansk *[AFP]* 37
Solidarity Activist Detained, Released *[AFP]* 37
Pacifists Begin Hunger Strike *[DPA]* 37
Further on Reactions to U.S.-USSR INF Treaty 37
'Fulfilled Expectations' *[Rayzacher]* 37
'Stronger Mutual Trust' *[Cepiak in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 9 Dec]* 38
'In Our Interest' *[Gadomski and Bolesław]* 39
'The World Is Satisfied' *[Leszinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 11 Dec]* 39
Roundup of 8 Dec Sejm Speeches on Referendum *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9 Dec]* 40
Further Reportage on 29 Nov Referendum 42
Cardinal Glemp Interviewed *[Madrid YA 22 Nov]* 42
Walesa 'Waste of Money' *[Madrid YA 22 Nov]* 43
Woźniak Views Reform, CEMA Relations *[ZYCIE PARTII 18 Nov]* 44
Leaders' Public Appearances 2-7 Dec 48

ROMANIA

Bucharest Radio Reports East Berlin Summit 49
Dissidents Arrested Amid 'Fresh Unrest' *[AFP]* 49
Vienna Paper Reports Riots in Bucharest *[Vienna NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG 14 Dec]* 49
Political Executive Committee Meets 11 Dec 49
Chaired by Ceausescu 49
Approves Profit-Sharing Fund 50
Ceausescu Chairs RCP CC Plenary Session 13 Dec 50
Paper Reports on Growing Leading Role of RCP *[SCINTEIA 12 Dec 87]* 51
Daily Examines County Party Conferences *[SCINTEIA]* 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Commentary on U.S.-USSR Signing of INF Treaty 53
BORBA Comment *[Ljubljana 10 Dec]* 53
U.S. Fails 'Test of Glasnost' 53
Sundic Notes Success 54
Belgrade Radio Views Summit 55

BORBA Disputes STERN on Waldheim Documents 55
Dizdarevic Elected State Presidency Member 56
Serbian President Stambolic Relieved of Duties 56
Presidency Decision Detailed 56
Gracanin Nominated 56
Simic Interviewed on Role of Public Media 56
LCY Central Committee Adopts Conclusions 57

Warsaw Pact Leaders Continue Meeting

Honecker Hosts Dinner

LD111023 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Berlin, 11 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, gave a dinner on Friday following the meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states in Berlin. During the gathering in the GDR State Council building, which took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev gave toasts.

Other members of the GDR party and state leadership and personalities from other Warsaw Pact states took part in the dinner.

Erich Honecker gave a cordial welcome to his guests in the foyer of the building on Marx-Engels Square. He then accompanied them to the banquet hall. Taking their places at the head of the table, together with Erich Honecker, were Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and his wife Raisa; Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Polish State Council chairman; Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president; Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary; Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and Bulgarian State Council chairman; Ioan Totu, RCP Central Committee PEC candidate member and Romanian foreign minister, personal representative of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romanian president; and other personalities accompanying them.

Attending the dinner were the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee: Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Werner Felfe, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde; the deputy chairmen of the State Council, Prof Manfred Gerlach, Prof Heinrich Homann, and Dr Guenther Maleuda; the members of the SED Central Committee Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Oskar Fischer, foreign minister, and other personalities.

Present were the ambassadors of the Warsaw Pact states accredited to the GDR, and the commander in chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov. [passage omitted]

Outside the State Council building, several thousand citizens, meanwhile, gathered to give a send-off to the leading representatives of the fraternal countries. There was great applause and cheers when they came out through the main door of the building.

Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev turned to the Berliners and shook numerous hands. "Friendship," "yeah Mikhail," "thank you" and shouts of "bravo" were heard. Both general secretaries crossed the street to Marx-Engels Square and, in a cheerful and friendly mood, greeted other men, women, and young people, exchanging cordial words.

There were banners in Russian and German with the slogans "Together with the Soviet Union to new breakthroughs in disarmament" and "USSR-US treaty—a historic step on the path to a secure peace."

Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev were accompanied by applause and further cheers when they crossed to the waiting car decorated with the flags of the GDR and USSR. Together, they were the first to drive toward the airport.

Honecker Banquet Toast

AU141338 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Dec 87 pg 3

[Toast by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, at banquet marking meeting of leading representatives of Warsaw Pact states entitled: "The Agreement is a Victory of Reason and Realism"—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND headline]

[Text] Dear comrades.

Our meeting today directly follows an event of truly historic importance for future international developments, for peace, and the welfare of mankind. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has briefed us on the contents and results of his meetings with President Ronald Reagan.

For this, and above all for the successful work which you, dear Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, have done in recent months and particularly in recent days—also with a mandate from us—I would like to thank you once again most warmly on behalf of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states present here.

We are in full agreement with the results of your peace mission. We see in it a great opportunity to take a path that will permanently lead away from the arms race and toward disarmament and detente, to the improvement of the international situation. These results fulfill the expectations and hopes of all peace-loving forces, which were given such a convincing expression at the beginning of November this year at the Moscow forum of the parties and movements.

The treaty between the USSR and the United States on the liquidation of their medium- and shorter-range missiles is a historic milestone on the road to a nuclear-free world, an initial practical consequence of the realization that mankind must be saved from a nuclear inferno. All over the world, the first disarmament agreement in the nuclear space age and the prospective additional measures will be received with great approbation, relief, and—last but not least—hopeful expectation. That is only natural, for the road to stability and security is not via more weapons, but via rational political solutions. This treaty is a victory of the kind the world needs today, not a victory of arms, but a victory against arms, a victory of realism and reason.

The advances achieved in Washington on the central question of the disarmament process, the substantial reduction of strategic offensive weapons under retention of the ABM Treaty, point to the future. A constructive framework for the settlement of concrete security questions was formed. This applies also to nuclear weapons tests and chemical weapons, which should be subject to a worldwide ban as soon as possible.

It is only logical that with the disappearance of the U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles, conventional disarmament moves into the foreground of European security. The ideas of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states advanced by Comrade Gorbachev in Washington about a necessary reduction of conventional armed forces and arms in Europe are, therefore, of the greatest interest.

Dear comrades: Part of what emerged only as a possibility after the Reykjavik summit is now becoming a reality. This is all the more significant in that there are already enough contradictions and dangers in the world and even now there is no shortage of attempts to once again halt the transition from confrontation to detente. How else can one explain the fact that some people are concerned that disarmament could go too far, that influential forces are calling for compensating for disarmament by arms escalation in other areas.

The European and other peoples instead expect that efforts to eliminate all nuclear weapons and for beginning conventional disarmament will be energetically continued. This is demonstrated by the activities of the forces of peace throughout the world. This demand was raised on numerous occasions at the United Nations, and it is an element of the efforts of the nonaligned states for disarmament and development. It is an aim of the well-known initiative by the Group of Six states.

Our credo is peace and disarmament. Our allied socialist states declared their will here in Berlin 6 months ago to bring about a world free of nuclear weapons, not to leave out any type of weapon—and all of this under comprehensive control and verification. We want to continue along this path, and we will firmly adhere to this goal.

This, above all, is also the outcome of our discussion this morning, which now lends momentum to our common interests and our united efforts for a lasting peace.

Comrades, you will be leaving Berlin today. I wish you and all of us success in the work for the welfare of our peoples, socialism, and the preservation of peace.

Our meeting in Berlin has strengthened our conviction that a world free of nuclear weapons and purposeful disarmament are possible. We, the Warsaw Pact member states, will do everything to implement the first nuclear disarmament agreement in all its aspects.

I ask you, dear comrades, to raise your glass to a lasting peace and disarmament, to our friendship and cooperation.

To the good health of Comrade Raisa and Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

To your personal good health.

Honecker Leads Farewell

LD112301 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Berlin, 11 Dec 87 (ADN)—The leading representatives of Warsaw Pact states, who have been meeting in Berlin, were given a cordial farewell on Friday at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary. Other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee were also present. [passage omitted] At the airport, the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo were present to see off the delgations from the fraternal states. These members and candidates members were: Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueer, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde, the members of the SED Central Committee Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, and other figures.

The ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Warsaw Pact states in the GDR were present for the send-off of their delegations.

Poland's Jaruzelski Leaves

LD1117461 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1630 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec 87 (ADN)—Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, began his journey home tonight.

He and the dignitaries accompanying him were seen off cordially at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership.

CSSR's Husak Leaves

LD1118551 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec 87 (ADN)—Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, began his journey home this evening. At Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport, he and the people accompanying him were cordially bidden farewell by Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership.

Romania's Totu Departs

LD1118581 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1734 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec 87 (ADN)—Ioan Totu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee PEC and foreign minister, personal representative of RCP Secretary General and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, began his journey home this evening after being bidden farewell by Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership.

Warsaw Socialist Capital Cities Meeting Ends

LD1316301 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (ADN)—An exchange of experiences by the first secretaries of the town and bezirk [area] executives of the fraternal parties from socialist capitals on current talks in the development of political and economic life of their countries ended in Warsaw on Sunday. The meeting was attended by delegations from Berlin, Budapest, Moscow, Prague, Sofia, and Warsaw.

During a friendly meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the participants stressed that the signing of the treaty between the USSR and United States on the elimination of nuclear missiles of medium- and shorter-range represented an important step on the path towards a nuclear-free world. The treaty was nourishing hopes for a further step in the direction of arms limitation and disarmament. The participants stated their appreciation of and support for the results of the Washington summit as expressed at the Berlin meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states, and praised the fruitful contribution of the fraternal countries.

Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the SED Berlin Bezirk executive, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, stressed during the meeting the importance of intensifying cooperation between the capital cities' party organizations, especially for the economic use of science and technology, as a decisive factor for gaining sociopolitical objectives.

A press release issued at the end of the 2-day discussions emphasized the importance of using the collective experiences of the fraternal countries in the service of the interests of the states and peoples. In this process, it was of special importance to further deepen the cooperation between the parties, trade union, youth, and other mass organizations, as well as among the enterprises and scientific and cultural establishments of the cities. The participants agreed that the politico-ideological work of the parties was of growing significance and that the responsibility of communists had become greater.

The first secretaries of the town and bezirk executives agreed to continue this kind of exchange of experiences and opinions.

CPCZ's Kapek, MSZMP's Havasi Sign Agreement

LD1300461 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Poland—In Warsaw today Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, and Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Budapest City Party Committee, signed an agreement on cooperation between party and state bodies as well as between social organizations of Prague and Budapest. Party bodies from both capitals will concentrate on cooperation in the management of economic and public life. Local government bodies and social organizations will exchange experiences from the implementation of election programs and environmental protection. Direct agreements between enterprises in Prague and Budapest are envisaged in scientific, technological, and economic spheres.

CEMA Legal Affairs Commission Meets in Prague

AU1111206 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 87 p 6

[Article by Dusan Brabec: "For the Benefit of Deepening Integration"]

[Excerpts] The first session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Legal Affairs ended in Prague last week. It was attended by delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. A delegation of Yugoslav

lawyers also attended the session as observers. This CEMA agency was set up on the basis of a decision of the 43d (special) session of CEMA heads of government in Moscow this October.

So far (since 1970) there has only been a consultative body of representatives for legal affairs, which operated under the CEMA Secretariat in Moscow. Its new statute gives the commission the right to put forward unified regulations on legal relations between organizations of CEMA member states in the context of the supply of goods. In other words, while the so-called "consultative body" only had an advisory function, now the commission issues its recommendations directly.

The Prague session amended the "General CEMA Terms of Delivery." The document contains major changes and additions concerning the method of concluding contracts, quality requirements, and liability for the breach of contractual commitments. [passage omitted] Another important document approved at the Prague session of the commission is the "Practical Guidance for Drafting Contracts Among Economic Organizations of CEMA States," which provides for specific types of international cooperation in manufacturing, including individual sample provisions. [passage omitted] This will speed up and facilitate the preparation of contracts by the contracting parties. [passage omitted]

"This document should help remove incoherences and imprecisions that used to lead to different interpretations by the partners and, consequently, to disagreements and even disputes," said Docent Doctor Slavoj Vanek, candidate of sciences, CSSR chief arbiter, who acted as the chairman of the CEMA Standing Commission for Legal Affairs this year and also presided over the Prague session.

The results of the commission's work should also help improve legal protection of scientific-technical cooperation between organizations of CEMA member states, and aid the legal codification of the establishment and operation of international economic organizations. Individual meetings of CEMA countries' experts will continue to follow and analyze the national legal norms governing individual types of contracts. They will propose such standardized legal regulations as will correspond to the given economic situation in CEMA member countries. No legal regulation, no matter how well devised, can be effective if it is not commensurate with actual economic conditions. That is why the primary task of the commission will be to contribute to a standardized legal regulation of relations between member organizations, with a view to developing these relations.

During its session, the commission also prepared the draft of a treaty that is connected with the adoption of the new Agreement on the Legal Capacity, Privileges, and Immunities of CEMA. It also worked out a draft document between CEMA and the USSR Government on the location of some CEMA facilities in the Soviet Union.

It has been decided to hold the Second Session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Legal Affairs in the Bulgarian People's Republic next year, again in November. That is why the chairmanship of the commission has passed from the Czechoslovak to the Bulgarian representative. [passage omitted]

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit: Aims 'Arouse Worry'
AU131514 Tirana ATA in English
1045 GMT 13 Dec 87

["Reagan-Gorbachev Talks—Their Clamor and Reality"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 13 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an editorial, which says among others:

On Thursday the secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, wound up his four-day visit to the United States of America, where he held intensive talks and meetings with President Reagan and top representatives of U.S. political and business circles.

At this meeting there was signed the bilateral treaty on eliminating the mid-range nuclear missiles.

This treaty and Reagan-Gorbachev meeting itself aroused a great euphoria, and at the same time worry. The Soviets and Americans spared nothing to evoke the historic role and special responsibilities of the two superpowers for the destinies of the world.

Precisely this clamour and these aims arouse worry. In fact what did the peoples profit from the dismantling of some kinds of missiles?

The treaty signed between the two superpowers solves no great problem, because the place they occupy in the global missile nuclear arsenal of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union is very small, 3 percent. The destruction of a type or category of weapons does not avoid the great threat and savage atomic blackmail deriving from the hegemonic and aggressive policy of the superpowers, from the endless arsenals of nuclear, strategic, cosmic, bacteriological, and conventional weapons they possess.

Not less clamorous and promising agreements in numbers have also been signed in the previous American-Soviet summit meetings as SALT I and SALT II agreements, the agreement on preventing the nuclear war, etc. But they resulted in an unprecedented growth of armament race, nuclear weapons in quantity and quality. Now too the two sides will get and preserve the nuclear warheads, missiles commanding systems, plutonium, and other kinds of machineries.

Boasting the importance of the treaty on the mid-range nuclear missiles, the United States of America and the Soviet Union want to speculate with the great worry and concern of the peoples of the world and particularly of European peoples for the dangers these weapons present to their life and security. It is known that the superpowers did not ask Europe when they stationed their missiles there, while now they want to present this treaty as a great service they render to our continent and its security. The European peoples did not want and forcefully opposed the deployment of American-Soviet mid-range nuclear missiles. The predominance of military treaty in all of Reagan-Gorbachev meeting throws light on the military element which is the most important in the American-Soviet relations. [sentence as received] The United States of America and the Soviet Union, parallel with their efforts for military supremacy over one another in global or regional plan, are compelled to enter into bargains in order to arrange the military equilibrium, to determine the quotas and approximate levels of the needed potential to be a world superpower, to ensure the respective spheres of influence and to exert military blackmail on the other peoples and countries. It was not merely a visit of protocol the one paid to Pentagon by the chief of the staff and first vice minister of the defence of the Soviet Union, Sergey Akhromeyev, who accompanied Gorbachev during the summit.

It was done to reveal also the great importance to be assumed by the military aspect of the relations between the two superpowers in the future. This time nothing was said on the extent of discussion and the way the regional conflicts were put forth, no concrete agreement was declared on one region or the other. The spokesmen of the delegations reported that there were discussed the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, South Africa, etc., conducted in such a way that these conflicts should not undermine the positive developments in the American-Soviet bilateral relations. The discussion on these problems and the positions from which they were treated of show of an interference on the part of the superpowers in the home affairs of the other peoples, an interference from which those peoples and regions suffer, because it is the superpowers who are responsible for the conflicts, it is they who supply peoples with arms and arouse splits and feuds. The equal security and common interests Reagan and Gorbachev spoke of are endeavours to manipulate the conflicts and regional tensions in the context of the interests of the American and Soviet strategy for world domination.

The special thing at the present American-Soviet summit was also the discussion on the problem of human rights. At first the Americans and the Soviets later on, through the campaign of glasnost and democratization, are making the problem of human rights one of the basic devices of their foreign policy. They speak of human rights not to find a real solution or facilitation for the great violations of the rights of peoples and men far and wide the world, because the superpowers are the biggest violators of the rights of peoples and men. They discuss with one another on the problem of the human rights so as to proclaim themselves defenders of these rights and to hide their flagrant violations.

Naturally it is the right of the United States of America and the Soviet Union to maintain relations, to hold summit meetings and discuss on their problems. [sentence as received] The peoples and sovereign states are not against such meetings, as long as they do not impair their interests and when they are not held at the expense

of the other countries. But the Soviet-American summit meetings have long since been turned into a rite of implementing the bipolar policy, of creating a hierarchy of world domination and of manipulating all its problems by the two super big. [sentence as received]

Many a time have the American and Soviet leaders met in summit meetings, but the world did not become more secure and peoples profited nothing from them. The superpowers promise that they are saving the world from nuclear threat, the nuclear catastrophe, but who threatens the world with atomic holocaust and who possesses the practical means and who pursues the policy that leads to such an end? It is precisely the superpowers, those who trample under foot the interests of the peoples and of sovereign states, who threaten peace and international security. Therefore, the peoples, the realistic forces and men raise their voice on the need of opposing more resolutely the policy, intrigues and plots of the imperialist superpowers. The turbulent international situations the world is undergoing leave no room for illusions on the good will of the superpowers, which pursue an ever more aggressive and dangerous course to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world and with incalculable consequences for the destinies of mankind.

SFRY Trade Delegation Arrives 10 December

AU1112224 Tirana ATA in English
0857 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, December (ATA)—A government trade delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal secretary of foreign trade, Nenad Krekic, arrived in our country on December 10.

The delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, head of the department at the Ministry of foreign Affairs Izedin Hajdini and other comrades.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the PSR of Albania, Novak Pribicevic.

On December 10 afternoon, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there were held talks between the minister of foreign trade of the PSR of Albania, Shane Korbeci, and the federal secretary of foreign trade of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Nenad Krekic, during which there were exchanged opinions on the development of the trade relations between the two countries.

Carcani Receives Krekic

LD1213126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At the end of the official visit to Albania, Nenad Krekic, federal secretary foreign trade, was received by Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers. During the talks, both sides expressed the desire for the further development and promotion of economic cooperation between the two neighboring countries. They also stressed that in the future, mutual cooperation should be developed on the basis of full observance of independence and the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference on an equal footing, which is in the mutual interest. It was noted that the observance of the above principles in everyday policy and practice will create conditions for the promotion of all aspects of cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

Trade Protocol Signed

AU1311441 Tirana ATA in English
1035 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, December 13 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1988 was signed in Tirana on December 12 between the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the SFR of Yugoslavia. The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and for the Yugoslav side by Nenad Krekic, federal secretary on foreign trade.

Attending the signing ceremony was also Sokrat Plaka, vice minister of foreign affairs. Present also was the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the PSR of Albania, Novak Pribicevic.

The PSR of Albania will export to the SFR of Yugoslavia electric power, chrome ore and concentrate, pyrite, chemical articles, mass consumer goods, etc., and will import lubricant oils, refractory materials, asbestos, synthetic threads and fibres, etc.

During the talks held between the two delegations, the Albanian side, accepting the Yugoslav proposal made beforehand, expressed its readiness to reach at this meeting the agreement on the development of border trade between the two countries. Upon the request of the Yugoslav delegation this matter will be discussed later on.

On December 12, the government trade delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, led by Nenad Krekic, federal secretary on foreign trade, left our country. The delegation was seen off by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, Izedin Hajdini, director of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other comrades.

Upon its stay in our country the delegation visited museum and cultural centers in Tirana, Berat, and Kruje.

Commissions Prepare for Assembly Session

AU1111324 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] The Permanent Planning and Budget Commission of the People's Assembly its proceeding with the preparatory work in connection with the upcoming second session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly.

The deputies are examining the work of the state and economic organs at the center and in the districts concerning the fulfillment of the 1987 state plan and budget. They are also discussing and exchanging opinions with workers, cooperativists, cadres, and specialists in different fields of production on the 1988 draft state plan and budget.

Meanwhile, the Permanent Juridical Commission, as well as other commissions of the People's Assembly, are also taking into consideration the opinions of various working people and specialists on the bills and other documents to be submitted for approval to the second session of the People's Assembly.

Myftiu Attends Meeting on Productivity

AU1212581 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—The executive committee of Shkoder District People's Council in cooperation with the Labour and Wages Committee of the Council of Ministers organized yesterday a national meeting to analyse the work done over this year and tasks emerging for 1988 to further augment labour productivity.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, the first secretary of the party committee of Shkoder District, Comrade Muho Asllani, the Chairman of the Labour and Wages Committee, Bajram Xhaja and other comrades.

The reports and discussions analysed the factors which have influenced the further augmenting of the productivity in Shkoder District dwelling upon the experience of the most advanced. Hence, 19 industrial enterprises have fulfilled and overfulfilled the tasks of the plan for the 11th month period working with a productivity 2-10 per cent higher.

Then the floor was taken by Comrade Manush Myftiu who said among others that working with ever higher productivity in the future too, will guarantee the development and intensification of the economy, the incessant augmentation of production at lower expenses.

Role of People's Councils Analyzed

AU1311149 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial "Let Us Raise the People's Councils' Control Over the Executive Committees to a Higher Level"]

[Excerpts] The consolidation, revolutionization, and democratization of the state organs has been and continues to be the center of the party's attention. In this field, the establishment of correct relations between representatives and executive organs also constitutes an important and principled norm, to which the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia have recently again drawn attention recently.

In our country, it is the people, and not just some people and administrations, who administer and decide directly and through their elected representatives. A correct understanding of this principle will result in the avoidance of all manifestations of formalism and any replacement of the role of the representative organs by executive organs.

The Ninth AWP Congress stressed the need not to permit the executive or any other state and economic organs to take over the rights and duties of the people's councils. The entire activity of the executive committees in the districts and of all their dependent organs must be subjected to the control of the people's councils, to which they must be accountable at all times. This legal imperative is being applied increasingly better by the people's councils. The people's councils in the districts of Shkoder, Permet, Mat, Vlore, Fier, Pogradec, Sarande, Lushnje, and so forth, have gained considerable experience and are carrying out a systematic effort to raise the level of accountability to the people's councils in the fulfillment of tasks. [passage omitted]

A really accountable report, with revolutionary criticism and self criticism, stimulates the criticism of the people's councils with regard to the activity of the executive committee. It stimulates debate, brings vitality into the inner life of the people's councils, revolutionizes the councils and their members, and shakes up the executive committee and its apparatus, freeing it from formalism, bureaucracy, and liberalism. [passage omitted]

Naturally, the accountability of cadres and of the executive organs to the people's councils must not be viewed in a campaign-like manner. It is constant and extends not only to the sections of the executive committees, but also to the base. This activity must and can be carried out even better by the various permanent commissions of the district people's councils. Without duplicating the work of the sections of the executive committees, as has happened in various cases, the permanent commissions should call to account the cadres in the apparatus and exercise stricter control at the base through individual councillors. The elected state organs and the councillors themselves must not be satisfied with what is merely

reported to them. They must organize their control over the implementation of decisions so as to be able to check how things are progressing in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, socio-cultural institutions, and so forth. They must be able to check on the activity of the executive committees, on their measures at the base, and on the implementation of decisions. This will help the councillors better understand what is happening at the base and what problems they should raise in the people's councils. [passage omitted]

Economic Progress Report for 6-12 December

AU1222013 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 6-12 December carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Kolonje District—The general industrial production plan for the 11-month period was fulfilled at 101.6 percent (1900 GMT 9 December).

Korce District reports completion of 11-month plan (1900 GMT 6 December).

Puke District exceeded its industrial plan for the 11-month period by 7 million leks (1900 GMT 6 December).

Leaders' Public Appearances for 6-13 December

AU1431636 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian and Tirana ATA in English in their broadcasts from 6-13 December report the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses): Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania received on 9 December Ilie Vadusa, minister of trade and international economic cooperation of the Socialist Republic of Romania and head of a government trade delegation which signed a trade protocol in Tirana (Tirana Domestic Service 1900 GMT 9 December).

Adil Carcani received Nenad Krekic, SFRY federal secretary of foreign trade, on 12 December (Tirana ATA in English 1030 GMT 13 December).

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received on 7 December representatives of Albanian communities in various foreign countries, who had come to attend the celebrations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Albania's independence and the 43d anniversary of its liberation (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 7 December).

Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers attended on 11 December a national meeting held in the city of Shkoder to discuss labor productivity (Tirana ATA English 0730 GMT 12 December).

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly attended on 12 December a seminar held the city of Burrel, Mat District, to discuss the role of people's councils in connection with various questions pertaining to the supply of the population with various consumer commodities (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 12 December).

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers attended a similar seminar in Elbasan (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 12 December).

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Speaks on CW Ban

AU1112043 Sofia BTA in English
1433 GMT 11 Dec 87

["Bulgaria and the Chemical Weapons Ban Issue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria called all countries participating in the disarmament conference today to show the necessary political wisdom and good will and to assist the solving of the chemical weapons ban problem.

At a press conference for foreign journalists held here Ambassador Dimitur Kostov, head of the UN and Disarmament Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that the problem of banning and liquidating chemical weapons is completely in line with the remarkable start which has been given to real disarmament by the Soviet party leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and the American President Mr Ronald Reagan. He pointed out that the draft convention on the banning of chemical weapons elaborated by the Special Chemical Weapons Committee with the Conference on Disarmament is a mature document and the work on it may be completed in the period till the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, planned to be held from May 31 through June 25 next year. The press conference stressed the contribution of the socialist, Western and non-aligned and neutral states, and of countries not participating in the Conference on Disarmament, to the elaboration of the draft convention on banning chemical weapons. It stressed the great importance of the control measures carried out by the Soviet Union in Shikhany and by the United States in Tooele, as well as by some other Western states.

The ambassador said that the intentions of the United States to produce binary chemical weapons, as well as the French request for the convention to grant the states the right to preserve and renew special stocks of chemical weapons till the end of the 10-year period of transition in order to achieve some balance in international security, impede the coordination of the final version of the convention on banning chemical weapons.

Zhivkov Returns From Pact Meeting 10 Dec

AU1120511 Sofia BTA in English
1941 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, returned from Berlin this evening. He attended the meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states. He was accompanied by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence, and by Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs.

Radio-TV Cooperation Protocol With PRC Signed

AU131846 Sofia BTA in English
1710 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing, December 13 (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of the Television and Radio Committee, led by its chairman, Mr Lyubomir Pavlov, completed their visit to the People's Republic of China.

The delegation conferred with Mr Ai Zhisheng, China's minister of radio and television. The sides signed a protocol on cooperation for the 1988-1989 period. The document envisages a wide-ranging exchanges of information and radio and TV journalists. The Bulgarian guests were received by Mr Rui Xingwen, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They exchanged views on the role of the mass media in the two countries for the implementation of the party decisions.

Polish-Bulgarian Trade Protocol Signed

LD1311414 Warsaw PAP in English
1942 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, Dec 12—The 1988 Polish-Bulgarian trade protocol, signed here today, envisages a 7 per cent rise in turnover that amounts to 833 million roubles, against a long term agreement.

Polish exports are to amount to 444 million roubles and imports to 389 million roubles. Like in the past years, Polish surplus will be used to subsidize Polish tourist traffic to Bulgaria.

SFRY Daily BORBA Holds 'Interest, Importance'

AU1012191 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian
9 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Belgrade: "Consistent and Profound Analysis of Complex Processes"]

[Text] If a poll based on the question "What Newspaper do You Believe Most?" were to be conducted at present among the audience of the Yugoslav mass media, it is almost certain that the overwhelming answer will be BORBA. Another question which naturally emerges in this context is: Why precisely BORBA? And then, why precisely now?

In recent months BORBA very often evoked interest among its readers with some articles, which have a special importance in Yugoslavia's sociopolitical reality. Almost daily the paper prints controversial articles on topical issues of the federation, the constitutional amendments, and relations between the republics and autonomous provinces. The interest evoked by the BORBA readers' poll related to discussing the proposal on eliminating the Federation Council continues.

Occasionally, the opinions expressed by the authors are completely contradictory; however, a general conviction exists that such a style fully reflects the current processes taking place in Yugoslav society. BORBA criticizes labor collectives and economic leaders without being influenced by the high official posts of certain persons. There are many who admit that BORBA is contributing much to clarifying some controversial issues and, in the final account, it serves the interests of the entire federation, and not those of the separate republics and autonomous provinces. However, the greatest achievement of the newspaper this year was its role in revealing and publishing the circumstances surrounding the financial-economic scandal caused by the "Agrokomerc" enterprise. It is already well known (and this is mainly because of BORBA) that for a long time "Agrokomerc" had been issuing uncovered bills of exchange, whose value is now estimated at $1 billion.

Our newspaper, says Dusan Cukic, BORBA deputy chief editor, is the organ of the SAWPY, and therefore it is called upon to express the Yugoslav interests of the federation. This means that, unlike other newspapers published in the six republics and two autonomous provinces, BORBA is the tribune of the entire Yugoslav federation. In the case of "Agrokomerc" we followed our principle of clarifying the truth quickly and precisely. From the very beginning of the investigation to its end—the publication of the facts—this was a case only BORBA journalists handled.

Objectivity and precision are especially necessary in articles which review the interests of the separate republics and autonomous provinces. Thus, for instance, if Montenegro is interested in earning more from the tourist industry, it will struggle for the low price of the bread it receives from the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. On the other hand, the agricultural producers of Vojvodina—SFRY's granary—may demand a high price for their production. In this case BORBA will show the differences in the goals in a manner which will arouse attention and a reaction by the public.

The practice to date convinces us that avoiding "hot issues" reflects negatively in the final account in socio-economic development. Therefore, we think that some of Yugoslavia's economic problems are a result not only of wrong investments and consumption which is not coordinated with our possibilities, but also a result of concealing the truth. Taking the risk of stating something in a declarative manner, I would say that everything which is in the interest of socialism and self-management, cannot be a secret.

The newspapers's new rubric, "How the SFRY Citizens, Specialists, and Politicians Accept the New Governmental Measures?", is a specific confirmation of Dusan Cukic's words. Many of the opinions which have been expressed reflect the concern over the possibility that prices will increase, while a subsequent freeze will follow the fate of last year's measures, after which the inflation continued to grow. "Today the voices of the beginning of the 1980's, which expressed concern over the 10-percent inflation, sound almost nostalgic," writes the author of a BORBA editorial. Simultaneously, in BORBA individual members of the SFRY Government publish their arguments in defense of the anti-inflation program adopted by the SFRY Assembly. Closely monitoring the country's pulse, the newspaper has the ambition to consistently and profoundly analyze everything on which overcoming the present difficulties depends.

Todorov Meets Danish Party Leaders

AU111436 Sofia BTA in English
1348 GMT 11 Dec 87

["Meeting at the National Assembly"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Today Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received Mr Thorkild Moller, chairman of the Radical Liberal Party of Denmark, and Mr Jens Peter Clausager, secretary general of the party, who are paying a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Stressing the good relations between the two countries, Mr Stanko Todorov spoke of the importance of the bilateral contacts at different levels for the further promotion of Bulgaro-Danish cooperation.

In response to the interest shown by the guests, the chairman of the National Assembly told them of the basic tasks which the Bulgarian members of parliament are solving in stepping up the process of profound reconstruction in all spheres of life and in promoting democracy and self-management.

Balev Meets Israeli CP Politburo Member

AU122029 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP, received Mr David (Sasha) Khenin, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, who was on a working visit here.

They welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American medium-range nuclear forces treaty.

It was emphasised that the improvement of the international situation and the strengthening of understanding among the peoples urgently require a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. The BCP and the Communist Party of Israel stressed their support for the Soviet-proposed comprehensive, just and durable settlement of the Middle East crisis through the convocation of an international conference to be attended by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Dyulgerov, TU Delegation Departs for India

AU131935 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] At the Invitation of the All-Indian Congress of the Trade Unions a delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions led by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council, departed for India on 13 December.

BCP Delegation Received by Mozambican Leader

AU102103 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party [Frelimo] and president of Mozambique, received the BCP Central Committee delegation led by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev, which is visiting Mozambique at the invitation of the Frelimo Central Committee.

Comrade Chissano told them about the situation in Mozambique and the tasks that are being solved in the difficult conditions of the struggle against the destabilizing policy of the neighboring Republic of South Africa and the subversive actions of the armed bandits supported by South Africa. He gave a high assessment to Bulgarian-Mozambican political, economic, and cultural relations and expressed confidence that the restructuring under way in Bulgaria will reveal new opportunities for their further development in the spirit of the agreement reached at his meeting with Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

National Assembly Ends 7th Session 10 Dec

AU101648 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] The seventh session of the Ninth National Assembly has ended. The concluding session this afternoon was chaired by Comrade Stanko Todorov.

The people's deputies unanimously adopted on the second vote the amendments and addenda to the electoral law, which create conditions for raising the political activity of the population and expanding socialist democracy.

The draft law on discontinuing the mandate of the okrug, municipal, and district people's councils and the townships was also adopted after a second examination. It was decided to hold elections for the oblast and municipal people's councils, and for the posts of mayors and members of the township people's councils throughout the country on 28 February 1988.

After a second vote, the draft law on creating municipalities in Sofia was also adopted. After this, the people's deputies voted unanimously for the second time for the draft laws on the country's plan and budget for 1988.

Stanko Todorov delivered the concluding speech at the National Assembly session. He stressed the importance of the adopted laws for the further acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development in the spirit of the July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee.

The chairman of the National Assembly expressed the unanimous support and approval of the people's deputies and the entire Bulgarian people for the positive results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, and the agreement signed by them for eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Importance of New Parliament Laws Cited

AU102105 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 10 Dec 87

["Realism and Dynamics"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 10 (BTA commentator Lyudmil Mitakiev)— The seventh session of the National Assembly adopted laws which upgrade Bulgarian society as a democracy and economic formation. Realism and dynamics are the two characteristic features of the adopted documents, like the election law amendments and addenda and the law on the state plan.

The present amendment to the election law adopted in 1973 is the fifth one. The amendment provides for the nomination of unlimited number of candidates for members of parliament, councillors and mayors in each municipality and region; the work teams are granted the right to nominate their own candidates, together with the candidates of the BCP, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the public organizations. All this and the democratization of the election procedure point to the reality of the movement toward superior democracy. Further democratization is also provided by the possibility for recalling of MP's who have disappointed their constituents.

The other important law—on the state plan for techno-scientific and socioeconomic development in 1988, is completely in line with the course of qualitatively new growth undertaken by this country.

The approach to the development of the plan has been different this year. For instance, state contracts amount to only 35 percent of the volume of the planned industrial production. They secure the fulfilment of the concluded international contracts and the satisfaction of certain basic needs of this country. The plan is and remains the pivot of the economy, and at the same time it creates conditions for the development of the economic initiative of the self-managing economic units.

The plan for the next year was drawn after a dialogue with the self-managing socialist organizations. That is why it is realistic and balanced. According to Mr Stoyan

Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, the plan provides for stable and dynamic development in the conditions of restructuring of the economy.

The document contains important decisions on the step-by-step fulfilment of the tasks in the social sphere. It takes into account the interests of the new territorial units: municipalities and regions. There is a tendency of further approximation of socioeconomic development of the different parts of the country.

The year 1988 will be decisive not only for the fulfilment of the indices of the five-year plan period but also for the realization of the new economic strategy of the BCP. It will be the time for the carrying out of the most important reform in the management of economy. Firstly, the real functioning starts of the workteams' self-management, who will determine their own personnel and managers. The dialogue between the state bodies and the economic organizations on questions of planning depends on economic regulators. In fact, the new economic regulations place all producers on equal economic terms in the frameworks of this country, and after the step-by-step introduction of the international wholesale prices—on a worldwide scale as well. Bulgarian enterprises would be more sensitive to the changes in world economy and to the competition on the world market, which is another precondition for Bulgaria's more active participation in the international division of labour.

Leaders' Appearances 2-12 December

AU131141 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA in English during the 6-12 December monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, spoke at a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with university students held in Sofia on 7 December (Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 7 Dec 87) which was also attended by Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Khristov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 87 pp 1, 6)

Yordan Yotov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, and Dimitur Stanishev attended a national day reception at the Lao Embassy in Sofia on 2 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 87 p 2)

The following leaders attended the opening of the seventh session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia on 9 December: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, "and other party and state leaders." (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 9 Dec 87)

On 10 December Todor Zhivkov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Petur Mladenov departed from Sofia for the Berlin Warsaw Pact leaders' meeting scheduled for 11 December. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 87) They returned to Sofia from Berlin on 11 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 11 Dec 87)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, gave a reception at the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 7 December for outstanding students. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Dec 87)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the visiting Italian minister of Foreign Trade, Renato Ruggiero, in Sofia on 8 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 8 Dec 87)

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke at a friendship meeting with the French Communist Party held in Champigny, near Paris, on 5 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 87 p 5) He met with leaders of the French Communist Party in Paris on 8 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 8 Dec 87) Aleksandrov returned from Paris to Sofia on 8 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 87 p 6)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with Carlos Costa, a Portuguese Communist Party Leader, before the latter left Bulgaria on 4 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 3) He also met with Lee Dlugin, secretary and Politburo member of the CPUSA Central Committee, in Sofia on 7 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 7 Dec 87) In Sofia on 9 December Balev received the leaders of delegations to the Sofia consultative meeting of socialist countries' Afro-Asian solidarity societies. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 9 Dec 87) In Mikhaylovgrad on 11 December Balev participated in the constituent conference of the oblast BCP organization. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 11 Dec 87)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, spoke at an army unit bcp conference on 6 December. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 87 p 2)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in a joint session of the Legislative Commission and the Socioeconomic Development Commission at the National Assembly in Sofia on 4 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 2)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, also met the Italian minister of foreign trade, Renato Ruggiero, in Sofia on 8 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 8 Dec 87)

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, also took part in the joint session of the National Assembly's Socioeconomic Development and Legislative Commissions in Sofia on 4 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 2) He took part in a joint session of the National Assembly's Legislative Commission and the People's Councils and Local Self-Management Commission held in Sofia on 7 December. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 87) Todorov met Danish party leaders in the National Assembly in Sofia on 11 December. (Sofia BTA in English 13481845 GMT 11 Dec 87)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with Hungary's Janos Berecz during the latter's 2-4 December visit to Bulgaria. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 4) Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, met with the famous composer Gian Carlo Menotti in Sofia on 8 December. (Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 8 Dec 87) He took part in a session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-PDRK Consultative Commission on Economic, Technical, and Scientific Affairs in Sofia on 11 December. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 11 Dec 87)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned to Sofia on 9 December from a party delegation trip to Japan, being welcomed home by Vasil Tsanov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Dec 87 p 6) Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, saw off Hungary's Berecz from Sofia Airport on 4 December. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 87 p 4)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, left Sofia on a visit to East Africa on 5 December at the head of a BCP Central Committee delegation. He was seen off at Sofia Airport by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 87 p 2) Stanishev visited Tanzania 6-8 December. (Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 9 Dec 87) He was received by the Mozambican president, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, in Mozambique on 10 December. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Dec 87)

Husak Returns From Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD112101 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, returned home today from Berlin, where he took part in the meeting of the chief representatives of Warsaw Pact states. He was accompanied by foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and Colonel General Karel Rusov, first deputy minister of National Defense.

Gustav Husak was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Milos Jakes, and Josef Kempny, Central Committee Presidium members; Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, and Frantisek Pitra, Central Committee Presidium candidate members; Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, and Jindrich Polednik, Central Committee secretaries; Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova, Central Committee Secretariat members; Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the party Central Control and Audit Commission, and other figures.

At the Berlin session, Mikhail Gorbachev informed those present in detail about his visit to the United States, and the course and results of his talks with President Ronald Reagan. The representatives of the allied states expressed their full support for the results of the talks and praised them. They emphasized that this historic step has and will have a positive influence on the political atmosphere in the world. At the conclusion of the meeting, the CSSR, USSR, and GDR signed a treaty on verification in connection with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles.

CSSR-Soviet Friendship Union Congress Meets

Bilak Speaks on Restructuring

LD121756 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—The signing of the Soviet-U.S.treaty scrapping intermediate range nuclear missiles, a "truly historic event", is "the first step on a long and difficult path at the end of which there should be nuclear disarmament", Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and secretary Vasil Bilak said here today.

"This could fulfil the hopes that mankind will enter the third millenium without the threat of nuclear weapons" he told a congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union.

However, it will not be easy to achieve this aim. Imperialism will hardly cease trying to harm socialism wherever an opportunity arises. The most reactionary forces of imperialism will still create many an obstacle and pull down many a bridge to impede progress towards disarmament. However, "it is important that the first step has been made and we are convinced that it is a step in the right direction and that common sense and peace will triumph", Vasil Bilak stressed.

He pointed out that Czechoslovakia and its people fully support this effort and want to do everything to contribute to its implementation.

Turning to other issues, Vasil Bilak noted that the West is accusing Czechoslovakia of lagging behind the Soviet Union in restructuring. "It is not so long ago that they were accusing us of copying everything from the Soviet Union", he said.

"We must approach in a creative spirit the use of Soviet experiences and comprehensive knowledge of the restructuring of Soviet society, correctly develop them and apply them in our country... Our support for Soviet restructuring cannot rest in loudly approving, applauding and mechanically repeating it, but in carrying out concrete political, organizational as well as personnel measures to use all our potentials as well as the Soviet experiences to speed up the development of socialist society", Vasil Bilak declared.

He noted that huge material and intellectual potentials have built up in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries over the past decades and it would be irresponsible not to create the necessary scope for them and not to give them a reliable orientation for their further all-round development in the interest of socialism and communism. "We see in this a historical and revolutionary movement not only in the interest of Soviet society but also other countries of the socialist community, to the benefit of all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world."

"Having drawn a lesson from the past, we know that a united Marxist-Leninist Party capable to act, a party which has enough strength to create, develop, direct and guide this process, must be at its head", the Presidium member pointed out.

He noted that one of the illusions was that socialism could be built quickly and easily, even within specified years. "It is good that we have realized in time that the opposite is true, as well as that much will have to be amended and perhaps even reorganized. This awareness should not arouse uncertainty in anyone nor even beating a retreat.[as received] On the contrary, it helps us to prove that we know where we are going and what we want." Vasil Bilak noted that in 1988 Czechoslovakia would commemorate major anniversaries, which would be a great opportunity to draw energy and a lesson for political and educational work from them. "Our enemies will no doubt do everything to use, or rather abuse, them for their own aims. This applies especially to the year 1968".

"Voices have again been heard whether the 1968 events should not be reassessed. Anti-communist centres have even worked out detailed plans for this. It was not by chance that a Japanese journalist asked this question at a press conference in Moscow and various Western agencies are now returning to it, speculating and elaborating on their ideas."

Many events can be reassessed, Vasil Bilak added, but it depends from what positions and for what purpose. Considerable attempts are being made to cast doubts on "The Lesson From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia". "If we defend the document, it does not mean that we are against a scientific study of facts in order to gain a deeper knowledge of the truth about that period. However, the basic truth remains unchanged that a broad anti-communist coalition was formed and a new structure of the political system was being born in 1968 with the aim to reverse the socialist development." Bilak quoted from the 1970 document "The Lesson from the Crisis Development" that truthful knowledge of what was behind the real situation in 1968, as well as all the motives for the entry of the allied forces into Czechoslovakia, showed in true light all the lies, slanders and deliberate distortions of reality fabricated and spread by domestic reaction, rightist opportunists and foreign bourgeois propaganda about the August 1968 events.

"Even the most erudiate historian cannot arrive at other conclusions than those contained in 'The Lesson' if he honestly proceeds from facts and from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. It is more than certain that many of those casting doubts on 'The Lesson' today would have found themselves in the same situation as some people after the Hungarian counter-revolution, when they swore that they had wanted no bloodshed."

"If everything causing stagnation and slowing down development is being removed under the party leadership in the Soviet Union at present, then all that was to help restore capitalism and destroy socialism was released in Czechoslovakia in 1968."

"Attempts to seek parallels between what is taking place in the Soviet Union and the year 1968 in Czechoslovakia are insincere...Comparing restructuring in the Soviet Union with what was taking place in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is an affront to the truth and human sense". Vasil Bilak quoted from the philosopher Seneca that only those wanting to hear the truth are to be told it.

He noted that this assessment of the 1968 events was made by the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1971 and the following congresses and on these positions the party has become united and continues strengthening its certainty and its links with the people. "Everyone acknowledging this is welcome to cooperate. Speculative attempts to reassess or justify a policy which, in its consequences, deceived and misled hundreds of thousands of innocent people, have no prospect", the party secretary emphasized.

Further on Bilak

LD122125 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Comrade Vasil Bilak spoke in the debate at the 10th congress of the CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association in Prague today. Listen now to some thoughts from his speech:

[Begin recording, in Slovak] From the international viewpoint the visit to the United States by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that has only just ended, and the signing of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is most topical. This is an event of truly historic significance. After complicated talks, preparations, and the overcoming of hundreds of obstacles, the first step has been made along a long and difficult journey at the end of which there should be nuclear disarmament. The hope could thus be fulfilled that mankind will enter the third millenium without the threat of nuclear weapons. That would be worthy of the human spirit.

Experience, however, has taught us that to attain this desired goal will not be easy. We must not succumb to illusions that imperialism sees this matter as we do, that it will be better and more reasonable, that it will cease in its efforts to harm socialism everywhere the opportunity arises. We must also be prepared that the most reactionary forces of imperialism will create many an obstacle and pull down many a bridge to impede progress toward disarmament.

The important thing, however, is that a start has been made and we are convinced that this is a step in the right direction and that common sense and peace will triumph. This is in line with our aspirations, and the CSSR and all our people have not only given to this endeavor their full support, but they want to do their utmost to contribute to its implementation.

From this platform, too, as the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government of the CSSR have stressed, we want to thank the CPSU, the Soviet government, and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev personally for his initiative, perseverence, and boldness in pushing through new thinking in international relations. [applause]

As you surely know, important documents will be submitted at the meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee to be held shortly and put on its agenda, documents to do with the acceleration of the social and economic development of our society. This concerns a further, more specific elaboration of the line of the 17th CPCZ

Congress. These are significant and important documents, which will affect everyone's life. We all, however, know that miracles are not born out of even the best documents and resolutions, but from the creative and selfless work of people.

I think that we cannot complain of a lack of resolutions and various directives. On the contrary, we have enough of them. We also know how to work them out. The problem however is, regrettably, that we are lagging behind in their implementation and in their thorough supervision. It is precisely here that we are lagging behind, which in turn is manifested in various ways in the life of the whole of society.

Here we must learn more from restructuring in the Soviet Union, which is characterized by thoroughness, profound understanding, and consistent application in practice. In our country we frequently expend greater effort in drafting resolutions and at times in copying them, but less in putting them into practice. The West accuses that restructuring in Czechoslovakia is lagging behind the Soviet Union. It is not so long ago that it accused us of copying everything from the Soviets.

We have to set about creatively making use of Soviet experiences and comprehensive lessons from the restructuring of Soviet society, and we have to know how to develop and apply them correctly in our country. Each communist party—and this has been stressed by the CPSU—draws up the program for building socialism which corresponds to the historical conditions of individual countries.

Esteemed comrades: Our friendship with the Soviet Union was not born and created by an order but out of deep historical knowledge. It did not spring from, and was not shaped by individuals, but was fixed in our subconsciousness as a historically acquired knowledge that the Soviet Union is our most loyal friend and that we shall always stand steadfastly alongside it. Every true patriot, everyone who lives in his homeland, the CSSR, wants his homeland to have a reliable ally. And the Soviet Union is such an ally and we shall do our utmost to return this loyalty, and guard and multiply it. [applause]

Even at the constituent congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, Klement Gottwald did not only evaluate highly its importance, but he also stressed that to stand guard over the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance and mobilize all our people for this purpose, to say loudly everywhere that we shall embark on everything always side by side with the Soviet Union, and never otherwise, would be a great task of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association. [applause]

Today, too, the main task of the association is to strengthen, intensify, improve, and guard our ties of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, all that is sacrosanct and precious to us. Proceeding from the deep historial subconsciousness, the profound knowledge of the current tasks and needs of world progress, we shall go along the common path with the Soviet people, creatively developing the ideas of Great October, making use of the great material and spiritual forces created by socialism. In this alliance our national security and independence, and the path of new successes in the development of a socialist future are secure. I wish you esteemed comrades much success in your deserving work and personal happiness. [applause]

Congress Meetings End

LD131723 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] The 10th congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association ended in Prague today with the adoption of final documents. Delegates elected a new association central committee, which at its first session elected Zdenek Horeni as its chairman. Miroslav Bochenek was elected the association's general secretary.

The resolution adopted stresses the association's unequivocal support for the CPCZ policy and readiness to share in the consistant realization of the conclusions adopted at its 17th congress. It says that the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association will seek ways of developing democracy within the association and of overall activity, and enhancing its influence in labor collectives and among young people. It will lead, on the one hand, all members toward a deepening of friendship and cooperation between our nations and the fraternal Soviet people, and on the other hand, toward deepening our knowledge about life in all areas of Soviet society.

The association will increase its effort in explaining the essense of Soviet internal and external policy; it will make a greater contribution to strengthening the class consciousness of our people and to the struggle of all progressive forces for peace. It will focus on the promotion of new forms of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and on a better utilization of the wealth of Soviet culture and art. It will promote more effectively tourism to the Soviet Union, both tourism on ideological themes and in terms of acquiring general knowledge about the country.

The 10th Congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association today also adopted a letter to the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, to the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, and also approved a peace resolution.

Chnoupek Reacts to U.S.-USSR Treaty

AU141424 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 87 p 2

["The Beginning of a Promising Process of Disarmament; Bohuslav Chnoupek on the Signing of the USSR-U.S. Treaty"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Yesterday Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, gave the following reply to CTK's question about his assessment of the significance of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, which was signed in Washington on Tuesday [8 December]:

"I am firmly convinced that the treaty on the elimination of medium-range and Operational-Tactical Missiles will go down in history as a historic event. It more than clearly confirms that the prospects for a nuclear-free world as set forth in the foreign political program of the 27th CPSU Congress, a program that was fully endorsed also by the 17th CPCZ Congress, are feasible.

"It is convincing proof of the transforming force of the new foreign political thinking, of the attractiveness of the ideas of peace and disarmament.

"It is a victory for realism and common sense, the result of joint efforts by the USSR and the United States, but also the result of support from their allies and from representatives of peace-loving forces.

"Czechoslovakia is one of the nine countries which are immediately affected by the treaty, because—following an agreement between the governments of the USSR and the CSSR—Soviet operational-tactical missiles were deployed on our territory, in response to the deployment of U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

"The treaty is a landmark in postwar history because until now the world has only been building up arms; from now on it is learning the art of nuclear disarmament.

"Since the very beginning, we have welcomed the idea of the elimination of these two classes of nuclear weapons, and actively supported the complex talks and the necessity of an agreement at all levels, both in bilateral and multilateral frameworks.

"I believe that this is the beginning of a very promising process of disarmament, which will undoubtedly touch off a chain reaction, not only in the direction of the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, but also in other spheres of disarmament.

"The CSSR is ready to fully participate in the implementation of this treaty."

INF Treaty 'Cornerstone of New Future'

AU111244 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Signed!"]

[Text] The signatures of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have affirmed the revolutionary fact that the USSR and the United States have concluded a treaty on the elimination of their ground-launched nuclear missiles with a range of 500-5,000 km. This is the first time in the history of disarmament negotiations that (if the treaty is ratified) weapons of mass annihilation will be dismantled and removed. The top U.S. and USSR representatives solemnly and publicly undertook this commitment yesterday.

The treaty itself is not the subject of the talks at the Soviet-American meeting in Washington; it was agreed on and worked out in advance, and the signatures in the White House merely meant the last detail after great and beneficial work. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have met in order to agree—on the basis of a specific act of disarmament, over the document of the first treaty—on a further, this time radical, 50-percent reduction of nuclear armament, specifically strategic weapons. In other words, they want to strike at the very heart of nuclear arsenals and eliminate all of 50 percent of the most destructive weapons which are the backbone of the nuclear force of these two states. Moreover, they declare that it is feasible to prepare a corresponding treaty within a very short period, before President Reagan visits Moscow (his visit is planned for summer 1988). In this way the two nuclear powers are showing that they concur in regarding the treaty on the elimination of medium-range and tactical-operational missiles as the first link in the chain of coming disarmament agreements.

The treaty that has just been signed is most significant.

FIRST: The American medium-range missiles are being removed and destroyed; one of them in particular, the Pershing-2, has been threatening vitally important centers on the territories of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states. At the same time the Soviet missiles targeted on Western Europe (and let us stress that they have not been threatening U.S. territory) are being eliminated. The military-strategic balance is being maintained on a lower level, which means that the level of military confrontation is also lowered.

SECOND: The treaty confirms that political will and willingness are the pivotal prerequisites of successful disarmament negotiations. As long as the political resolve exists, no technical or military problems can become an insurmountable obstacle. The political decision finally reached by the United States, too—namely, that the treaty strengthens American security and the safety of its allies, instead of weakening it—is the key that opened the way toward the possibility of nuclear disarmament.

After its well-known procrastination and hesitation, the American Government has fallen in with the Soviet view that the accumulation of nuclear arms represents the greatest danger both for states possessing nuclear arms, and states not possessing them; and that, in the interests of one's own and of collective security, it is therefore necessary to start eliminating them immediately.

The current striking, explicit movement in Soviet-American talks proceeds from this understanding of the problem. However, the United States has not yet come to realize that nuclear arms are totally unnecessary—the idea of a world free of nuclear arms has not yet prevailed in the political thinking of the American and West European bourgeoisie.

The process of nuclear disarmament and the political dialogue connected with it still have to face many obstacles or complications; still, this process has begun and is developing, this is important. We must not forget that the treaty still has to be approved by the American parliament—the Congress, in which extremely reactionary American politicians are whipping up a furious storm. President Reagan, who is indisputably a devoted representative of the conservative bourgeois thinking and practices, has grasped what is dividing him from certain of his political fellow travellers. They believe that a U.S.-USSR nuclear war is inevitable; Reagan does not. And this is why he is discussing nuclear disarmament with the Soviet Union and declaring that he will conclude yet another agreement.

The new thinking in our nuclear age (which the Soviet Union is calling for) is taking root with surprising speed and is affecting even those circles of the bourgeoisie that many people have considered immune. Yes, it is truly possible to come to an agreement, to resolve the primary all-human problem—the issue of war and peace, on which mankind's survival depends in a nuclear age.

The treaty is a Soviet-American treaty, but it is also a comprehensively international one. Nuclear weapons will be removed from the territories of nine states, including Czechoslovakia, and also from the territories of those states that are still placing Czechoslovakia in danger from American missiles. The psychological barrier has been overcome not only in relations between the two largest nuclear powers. International relations will come to feel the revitalizing stream of restored trust, mutual understanding, respect for the interests of others, and the common realization that we can be each other's neighbor and live without the threat of nuclear arms. The knowledge is strengthening that in a nuclear age neither states, nor nations can be enemies armed to their teeth; that in their own interest they must not rely on resolving conflicts by military force, since the nuclear weapon is a suicidal weapon.

We have not yet reached the stage of ratification, the success is not yet complete; nevertheless even today we are justified in saying: we believe that the treaty signed in Washington can become the cornerstone of a new future, of a better tomorrow in a peaceful and safe world. Common sense, responsibility, and peace have won.

It has been signed!

U.S.-USSR Relations Viewed

LD121040 Prague CTK in English 0725 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—Soviet-U.S. political dialogue has gained in speed and a fan of talks is unfolding which is not only covering an ever greater number of issues but primarily proceeding to practical steps in the foremost ones—the wrote today. [sentence as received]

It reviewed the development of Soviet-U.S. relations and noted that acknowledgement of the fact that nuclear war is a mortal danger for mankind has made it possible to solve even complex technical issues of disarmament, problems of maintaining military-strategic balance on a lower level and the problems of control and technical verification of adopted commitments. "Life has proved right the Soviet view that political decisions, goodwill and willingness are crucial for success and for achieving the aims of disarmament talks", the paper wrote.

"The beginning exists, the treaty has been signed. However, it is important not to stray from the road taken. We cannot but see that American reaction is organizing a frontal attack against nuclear disarmament, we also know how fickle and volatile views are in bourgeois politics, and ratification of the first treaty in congress will be the touchstone of the determination of the U.S. Administration and the ability of the U.S. public to enforce and successfully defend their interest. An important step has been taken, but only the future and primarily the treaty's ratification will prove its real worth", RUDE PRAVO wrote.

CSSR's Contribution to INF Treaty Noted

LD140831 Prague CTK in English 0740 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia "has done everything in its power to constructively contribute to an operative solution of problems" linked to the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty scrapping intermediate range nuclear nissiles, RUDE PRAVO said in a commentary today.

The treaty "means the vital interest of security of our state and nations, in its entirety as well as its individual provisions. Czechoslovakia is being rid of a direct nuclear threat posed by 72 U.S. nuclear warheads on Pershing 1A missiles which are deployed in the immediate neighbourhood of our western border, in the FRG. Some of them are aimed at Czechoslovak cities. Their sole military purpose was a nuclear strike on Czechoslovak territory", the paper said.

It added that the Warsaw Treaty member states have done their share of work necessary for nuclear disarmament to begin. It said Czechoslovakia signed the agreement with the Soviet Union and the GDR on inspections

last Friday "with feelings of joint responsibility for the 'European home'. This, too, is part of the historic step launching nuclear disarmament".

The paper described control as a "key to smooth implementation of disarmament measures according to the adopted timetable... restoring an atmosphere of confidence, or being even a code of confidence". It is practical evidence that disarmament is feasible, does not weaken national security but, on the contrary, enhances it and thus serves collective security of the world. "The control and verification principles adopted by the Soviet Union and the USA, and together with them their allies, are simultaneously building a pillar on which further talks on disarmament will rest, and not only on nuclear disarmament which remains the first and foremost task", RUDE PRAVO wrote.

West European Views of INF Treaty Noted

LD141003 Prague CTK in English 0900 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—"Clear support for the Soviet-U.S.treaty is a fact. Somewhat more differentiated distribution of merit would certainly be in place, but we agree with the NATO representatives that it was a victory of reason", the Czechoslovak Daily RUDE PRAVO wrote today, referring to the NATO council session which took place last week.

To what extent will the West follow reason in future, RUDE PRAVO asked and added that there are several concepts inside the treaty. "The concept least favourable for disarmament is pursued by France today", it stated, pointing out that France has two thesis: Firstly, that the Soviet Union and the United States have made a pact behind the backs of other countries—ignoring the fact that France, as well as Great Britain, owning similar nuclear arms, have refused to participate in any kind of dialogue, secondly, that Western Europe will be defenceless after the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. RUDE PRAVO stressed that this is a "strong expression of distrust towards the United States as the main partner of Western Europe and at the same time it implies that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) remains in many respects hostage to old cliches about a Soviet bogey and does not intend to adapt its attitude to real circumstances, which could bring about a more constructive climate in talks on disarmament".

"The French effort to create a West European defense pillar in the NATO framework through the intermediary of a Paris-Bonn axis is beginning to find its way. Although the Brussels communique actually confirms distaste towards the denuclearization of Europe, the NATO allies are quite far from a total consensus", the daily wrote.

"France and Britain have made it clear that they will not give up their nuclear arms and refuse to discuss shorter-range missiles. It seems that the easiest progress will be achieved in the reduction of strategic missiles. Also the elimination of chemical weapons has found support among the NATO members. The question of conventional arms will be much more complicated, as the talks on these arms have not moved from place for many years and the West is always seeking new reasons opposing faster progress. Shortly, the West would prefer to mark time but it is forced by development to proceed at least a bit forward while doing so", RUDE PRAVO concluded.

Hungarian TV Interviews CPCZ's Jan Fojtik

LD290050 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1615 GMT 28 Nov 87

["Face to Face" program: interview with Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, by unidentified program presenter; Fojtik in Czech with superimposed Hungarian translation—live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Czechoslovakia at the end of 1987 is facing changes and restructuring. The program of economic and social changes is being developed at the initiative of the CPCZ. Jan Fojtik is an influential member of the party leadership, a candidate member of the Presidium, that is, the Politburo, and secretary of the Central Committee. The Czech politician was born in 1928, in a small village in Moravia. At the age of 17, before reaching the minimum age, he applied for party membership. He attended Prague University. He worked as a journalist between 1950 and 1968, first at the journal SOVIET SCIENCE and PHILOSOPHY and then at the central party paper, RUDE PRAVO. In 1969 he became rector of the political academy and during the same year he was elected secretary of the Central Committee.

Jan Fojtik is married; his wife teaches at Prague University. He has a daughter and three grandchildren.

Czechoslovakia is facing considerable changes. As part of the reform program, the transformation of the economy is now being prepared. However, quite clearly this process will lead to big changes not only in the economic sphere. Some people say that the ways of thinking and the political institutions will also have to be transformed in Czechoslovakia. What is your opinion on this?

[Fojtik] We are preparing certain changes, which are occurring not only here in Czechoslovaia; similar processes are occurring in other socialist countries as well. We formulated the program of changes at the 17th congress of our party, when, under the influence of the Soviet comrades, we approved the strategy for accelerating social and economic development. The experiences

of the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries demonstrate that in order to do this there is also a need for significant changes in the economic mechanism and some other mechanisms.

The restructuring cannot be narrowed down to the economy alone. According to our approach, restructuring means first and foremost the activation of the human factor. This is the key to everything. Success depends on the gradual democratization of society, the deepening of democracy. We do not regard democratization as some sort of formal reorganization of society but first and foremost as a process which fills out the participation of the workers in the work of management.

Naturally, we are concentrating the greatest attention on the economy at the present time, because this is where the problems are most acute. We must transcend the extensive character of the economy and we must begin along the road of intensive development. Today we see that this cannot be done without radical transformation of the economic mechanism. We wish to introduce an entire system of changes. We have prepared a whole series of draft bills, for example on state enterprises and cooperatives. At the next session of the party Central Committee, which will take place at the end of the year, we shall deal with the comprehensive, complex program for the transformation of the economic mechanism. The material is now being prepared and the party presidium will soon discuss the ideas.

[Question] The restructuring has thus begun. The process will obviously involve problems and conflicts in Czechoslovakia as well; after all, it is true here as well that it is not enough to repaint the front of the building. And, of course, this is not a short-term task; it might take years before the leaders and the led alike can adjust to the changing circumstances. There is a fundamental question: how will the management system change, what will be the function of the state plan, what right will producers be given?

[Fojtik] We wish to fundamentally change the role of the state plan. Naturally, we do not wish to abolish central direction, but we want to modify the way in which it worked up to now. I am not afraid to say that up to now the central direction was very poor, because in the economy every administrative direction is poor. Following from this, we plan to change the nature of all the central directing bodies and the nature of the central organ itself. The plan cannot prescribe to the economic organizations what they should manufacture, what they should buy, how much they should buy and where they should get it; it cannot prescribe obligatory purchasing, delivery, and sale norms. These are matters that belong to the enterprise. Insofar as we expect the enterprises to manage effectively, we must ensure for them the right to choose their tools of production themselves, as well as their markets, including the possibility of exports.

We take it as our point of departure that the plan must fulfill two fundamental functions: It must be oriented, on the basis of the indexes of effectiveness, toward optimum economic management, and it must facilitate the achievement of material-financial equilibrium, the economy's general equilibrium.

[Question] You have spoken about enterprises. However, in Czechoslovakia industry is essentially built on giant enterprises that are in practice in a monopoly position. Under such circumstances, is it possible to talk about enterprises in the sense of business ventures?

[Fojtik] First of all, in those spheres where that is justified we wish to bring about small enterprises. For example, in the industry producing traditional consumer goods. This is one of the methods whereby we want to facilitate the development of competition. At the same time, it is understandable that in the Czechoslovak economy, because of the high proportion of heavy industry, the heavy chemical industry and metallurgy, it is impossible to create competition just by creating new enterprises. In this area, we expect competition to come from participation in the international division of labor. What is involved, in other words, is opening up the economy. We want to create a situation in which the exports, imports, profits, and incentives of the enterprises are influenced by external effects and, to a full extent, world market prices. This is an area that, in my opinion, is large enough for competition.

[Question] Does this mean that some enterprises will be given the right to export directly?

[Fojtik] Naturally, naturally. If we make it the duty of the enterprise to work in accordance with the laws of the external market, then we must give it the right to conduct foreign trade activities.

[Question] Could it happen in this system that an enterprise that produces only losses will be closed down?

[Fojtik] Naturally, the future will be as merciless as this. Intensification and the structural transformation cannot be envisaged without eliminating certain productive branches or enterprises.

[Question] The present attempt at reform is not the first one. There are those who say that by now this is the fourth one. According to others, this is only the third one. How can the success of the present attempt be ensured? [Fojtik] This is the third reform. The first was at the end of the 1950's, the second at the end of the 1960's, and this is the third one. There are frequent comparisons made, particularly abroad and especially in the West, between the reform of the 1960's and those endeavors which are, at present, only in an early stage. I think that it must be understood that at that time something entirely different was involved in practice than what we are talking about today. I am talking not primarily about the goals, but about practice. At that

time, the stress unequivocally was on decentralization, in a one-sided way. At that time, it was not said that the intensive reproduction process demands a new type of central direction and planning; this issue did not arise. Thus, the demand for decentralization in practice inevitably became one-sided, a political slogan, so to speak. It became a tool of political demagogy. It became part of the criticism of the center, as such.

Now, on the other hand, what is involved is that all the experiences and endeavors should be devoted to the strengthening of democratic centralism. Our experience shows that the needs of the people, social policy, enjoy priority, that production cannot dictate its own conditions to consumers. The market must play not only the role of regulating momentary needs, but must be subordinated to certain perspectives, to development. Consequently, central planning is very important, naturally, central planning based on science and not on voluntarism.

[Question] I believe, however, that one of the key questions of restructuring is the endeavor toward better performance, greater efficiency. I assume that this is followed by a differentiation in enterprise revenues and individual incomes. Are you not concerned that this will create tensions in society? More precisely, how do you intend to reduce the tensions?

[Fojtik] This is a very important issue. We talk much more about the differentiation of incomes than we do in this sphere. I am talking about our situation. At the same time, it is clear that if we do not transcend egalitarianism, we will not make progress. We already possess some experience in this respect. I do not believe that if we were to make a serious start on this we would not be supported by the majority of society. The majority of people are unequivocally on the side of differentiation. Admittedly, it is a different question how various people imagine this. The fundamental princple, so to speak, has fought its way into people's consciousness.

There are two poles here. On the one hand, egalitarianism, and on the other, speculative incomes. The existence of these extremes considerably harms the image of socialism; it does not lead to people giving active support to our policy. This is true not only in the economy; this is of decisive importance in the economic sphere. It must be quite clear that this endeavor is not an attack on people's social possibilities. It is precisely the improvement in work productivity that gives rise to the resources necessary for the fulfillment of social needs, the increase in well-being, and for higher wages. When supply is based on a realistic material basis, the social purchasing power also can increase.

[Question] You have mentioned, and I also have experienced, that the qualitative changes occurring in the Soviet Union are followed with great interest and liking in Czechoslovakia. What is your opinion about the effects of these changes in Czechoslovakia?

[Fojtik] You are quite right; we find everything that is happening in the Soviet Union now very attractive. All those things that the present leadership of the Soviet Union carries out in the sphere of everything meant by restructuring [Fojtik uses the Russian word "perestroyka"] have a stimulating effect on us. Understandably, just as elsewhere, we also have our own worries about whether everything is going as it should, consistently. As Comrade Gorbachev has formulated, the fundamental slogan of restructuring is more socialism, more democracy. This meets with full support in Czechoslovakia. However, not everyone thinks of the same thing when speaking about restructuring [preceding word in Russian]. Though at times people use the same word or slogan, different people mean their own ideas by them. Often, they base them not on realities and possibilities, but on their dreams and desires.

However, we not only follow everything that is happening in the Soviet Union with interest, we not only express our liking for it, but as I have already said, we are trying to apply the direction of acceleration and restructuring to our own conditions. We are also seeking how they can be applied in our country, in harmony with our own experiences.

[Question] This is true elsewhere, as well. After all, every country, and thus Czechoslovakia, as well, has its own particular characteristics. This is a matter of course, but would you tell the Hungarian viewers what these particular Czechoslovak characteristics are?

[Fojtik] There are peculiarities in the economy, geopolitics, and geography. We are sensitive, for instance, to external influences. The structure of our economy is given; it is dependent to a large extent on the import of raw materials. We must develop the processing features of industry, this is what we must continue. To a certain extent we ignored this in the late 1950's and early 1960s. This was one of the causes of the crisis.

The crisis was not brought into existence by the writers, and it was not they who fanned it. The crisis was caused by certain unsolved problems and by the fact that endowments that played an important role in our country had been ignored.

If, for instance, a few people say today that you are doing things differently than the Soviet comrades, one must think: What are we doing differently and why? Maybe we are doing something differently and maybe we ought, perhaps, to be doing something the way they are. However, there are things that must be done differently because our point of departure is our own endowments and conditions. Everyone must stand on his own feet and think with his own head.

[Question] You have made several references to 1968. In those days, you were still a journalist. What is your recollection of the years of crisis?

[Fojtik] The crisis did not arise accidentally. Sixty-eight was the result of the piling up of serious mistakes. It was the result of the distortions, subjectivism, voluntarism, and the pragmatic policies [as heard] of the party and state leadership of the time. They were simply incapable of reacting to serious problems. This, then, triggered dissatisfaction which certain forces exploited. They further aggravated the critical situation. The call for improvement adopted by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at its January session gradually became an attack on socialism. It can now be understood that this opened opportunities to force that had operated even before February, and during February, and had stood on the opposite side of the barricade.

The right wing of the party leadership began to give in to them, and this was a tragic phenomenon, a tragic phenomenon, [repeats himself] for the question was no longer the renewal of socialism, but that of the destruction—under the banner of renewal, the banner of democratization—of the foundations of socialism.

[Question] However, there are still some groups in Czechoslovakia who regard 1968 with sympathy. How much strength and influence do groups such as Charter 77 have?

[Fojtik] This is not a simple question. The influence of such groups is always determined by the concrete situation. If the political situation in our country is good, their influence amounts to nil because they do not represent many people. However, if there are complications, if we do not succeed in something, their influence inevitably increases, the same way that oppositionism can increase in one layer of society or another merely because they are dissatisfied with this or that. So it is understandable that these groups exploit everyday dissatisfaction. I can say that their influence today is minimal, and there is no need to expect any in the future, either. Only the West, which is manipulating them, counts on it. The West uses them, keeps them alive, and not badly, either. However, they mean nothing to the people today.

[Question] Debates in your country are becoming harder and harder. In the spring, for example, some sharp criticism was voiced at the Congress of the Artistic Unions. I also have heard that one of your leading actors, Milos Kopecky, who is also very popular in Hungary, has called for substantial changes. What is your general opinion of these debates?

[Fojtik] Look, I must correct you a little. I do not think there were such debates at the creative organizations' congresses. It is true that the stance of national artist Milos Kopeczky did have such characteristics, but I think there are two things here that must be addressed separately. As regards Milos Kopecky's speech, it produced many echoes, debates, and exchanges of opinion because he touched on a subject that is very topical. It is a subject people are prepared to discuss at any time, in any beer garden. And they are discussing it. This subject is the replacement of cadres, the dismissal of those who have been sitting in their places for a long time, who should have departed a long time ago, the people who should have been replaced with young ones. The discussion was about the change of generations and this topic does have a rational core. We also must generally adopt an active stance toward these debates, which are sometimes unpleasant or even provocative to us. This means that we must deal with them seriously. First, we must think about them seriously, list opinions against opposing opinions, give arguments to counterarguments, and where we experience demagogy, we must state that it is demagogy.

[Question] I believe that the role of debate in society grows day by day, not only here, but also in other socialist countries. People want to participate more in the life of society, in everyday democracy. What role can the media play in this? Where are the limits? The reason I am asking this is that we have seen in the USSR the extent to which the role of the media has increased.

[Fojtik] Yes, there is no doubt about the role of the media today. Television and radio, especially, play an important role in the debates. The media also has a role in political openness, in general.

If we translate glasnost [Fojtik uses the Russian word] it means not only the availability of information, but also the openness of politics. We are turning to people, the real subjects of politics, who must be fully informed so that they can make rational decisions, even on questions that are not only partial problems, but determining social causes. In this sense, in this direction, glasnost has no limits or barriers. On the contrary, we must wish for even more than what the press is doing. Understandably, however, when it comes to the fundamental principles of our policies, there are certain limits. We have a clear policy; we are a socialist country; our Communist Party has a comprehensible program. Glasnost must therefore support the realization of the program. I cannot imagine an chief editor or an editorial collective raising the question of the leading role of the Communist Party, or of social ownership, which is the basis not only of the socialist economy but also of the whole of socialism.

[Question] The changes are expected to affect every member of Czechoslovak society personally. The reappraisal of numerous principles which until now has been regarded as everlasting, obviously will have an impact on the individual's already achieved or desired position. The search for a way will elicit debates and exchanges of opinion, and will call for public stances. Does the restructuring have opponents? Do they voice their opinions publicly?

[Fojtik] No one, of course, takes a public stance opposing restructuring, but we know that the very people who are most uncomfortably affected by the restructuring work against it, if not openly, and their attitudes and actions regarding this issue are negative.

[Question] What will be the fate of the reform? It is being prepared now, but what next?

[Fojtik] On 1 January 1991, the whole system, with essentially no exceptions—at least we hope there will be no exceptions—will come into effect. You could, of course, remark that the situation of our people's economy would already require the introduction of something that could help in the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan. I would, of course, agree with such a remark, but I would like to emphasize that between 1988 and 1990 we want to gradually introduce partial measures that can be implemented independently. We expect these to promote initiative, enterpreneurial ability, and naturally, we also expect them to contribute to the fulfillment of the current 5-year plan.

[Question] Let us be a bit more personal. How much do you work each day?

[Fojtik] By the nature of my job, it cannot be measured in hours. There is no clocking-in, but even if there were, I do not always work in the office. If I were always here, I would justifiably be criticized. My job is such that my brain is working when I am resting and this forces me to deal all the time with matters relating to my work. I am not saying this to make you believe that I am an exemplary worker. I am extremely fond of sleep, for instance. I like to rest. I am fond of sitting down by the white table with my friends to have a drink and discuss things. I never shut myself away from this, and without it I would not even know, perhaps, what life is like. However, I am, of course, working even then. As soon as I get home, I start discussing with my wife what is happening at the university, what she has read in the papers, how this or that can be possible. One can discuss things very well at home because it is really unrestricted. There is no censorship—or even self-censorship—at home.

[Question] What do you do when you really have some spare time? Do you have any hobbies?

[Fojtik] Well, I do not want to make things up. I do not have time to pursue a hobby. Although I used to enjoy playing chess, I do not have much time now; I do not know why. If I have some spare time, I like to go for walks in the forest, because that is where one finds peace. I like to collect mushrooms. And I read. With me, this is to some extent a kind of addiction. I cannot imagine how someone can get used to not reading. I prefer the specialist literature to fiction, though I admit that I like poems, especially Czech poetry, even the modern ones. I like Jan Neruda; he is my favorite from the last century. Among the modern poets, I like Vitezslav Nezval and others, even Seifert, who received a Nobel prize, although not primarily for his poems. I am sure that the people who decided it had never read his poems. They could not have read them because they probably had no knowledge of Czech. Seifert's poems had not been much translated until now. Only recently have his poems been translated. So I also read the Seifert who received his Nobel prize not for his poems but for his certain political activities in 1968 and later, for supporting a little and not supporting a little Charter 77, as it is done by gentlemen of his kind who are perched on high thrones.

[Question] However, as far as I know, Seifert is a very good poet.

[Fojtik] Yes, an excellent poet. However, there are better ones. Vitezslav Nezval, in my opinion, is in a class above him, but this is an individual matter and I do not want to be a literary critic.

[Question] Do you have a weekend house? It is my experience that, especially in the Czech lands, there is a great cult of this. Does this movement not represent some kind of introversion toward the private sphere and a turning away from social life?

[Fojtik] Well, you have posed several questions here. First, I have no weekend house, nor do I need one because I regularly visit during the weekends the holiday home of the party Central Committee. This is where I spent my annual leave, too, in recent years. Everything I may need is there: a big library and the forest in the vicinity. I have no plans to build a weekend home for my old age.

Regarding weekend houses, in general, I do not regard this either as a movement or a tendency of introversion into private life. This is a completely natural thing. During the whole week people live in a community for a rather long time. They have all kinds of difficulties, problems. They simply yearn for the Saturday, Sunday and for a certain kind of private life, family life, or even solitude. There is nothing in this that is against socialism. Only a person imagining our socialism as some kind of cruel collectivism can think this way.

[Question] Restructuring does not avoid the tourist sector, either. On the contrary, the role of tourism seems to be increasing. What percentage of the national income is derived from tourism?

[Fojtik] We have no data that would show the percentage to which it contributes to the national income. So far, we are able to compare it only with the value of Czechoslovak exports. For example, regarding capitalist countries, somewhat less than 2 percent of the income of Czechoslovakia stems from foreign tourism, while regarding socialist countries this proportion is about 3 and 1/2 percent.

[Question] We have heard of plans that foreign capital, too, will be brought in for Czechoslovak hotel construction and for other foreign tourism investments.

[Fojtik] The government, in its decree No. 18 of this year, has decided that the possibility of the establishment of joint ventures with nonsocialist partners should

be extended to foreign tourism, as well. I may say that we, too, have been surprised by the great interest our partners have exhibited, and not only on the level of banks, financial groups, and construction industry enterprises, but there also was interest, even in the course of the negotiations the members of the Czechoslovak Government carried out abroad; primarily there was interest in Austria, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain, but from other countries, as well.

Essentially, not a week goes by without one of the Czechoslovak foreign missions asking for information, briefing about this area. At the same time, it must be seen that we do not have very much experience in this, even given the fact that we have studied your methods in the hotel construction both in and out of Budapest, and even given the fact that we have become acquainted with the terms under which hotels have been built in the GDR, Poland, and the Soviet Union. We do not have our own experience, we still do not.

We pay very great attention to preparations, but I may say that we will establish the first two joint ventures with capitalist firms, hopefully by the end of the year. One of these will be with an Austrian partner, and the other with a French.

[Question] I think that a good hotel is only the basic condition, and in my judgement, what is most lacking in Czechoslovakia is a touristic service in terms of quality. Can Czechoslovak private capital play a role in this?

[Fojtik] I say perfectly openly that we are not planning the involvement of private capital in the sphere of those services you have in mind. At the same time, we do not rule out that sometime in the future we will rethink, reassess these things.

[Question] I think primarily about smaller establishments, but in any case within the framework of an organization.

[Fojtik] It is possible that at a later date we will interpret this in a different way, but now we do not consider this. It is a different question that when the government this year discussed the services, catering, and social catering, it agreed that in certain well-founded cases and when it is unambiguously advantageous, for example, in the case of smaller services, the activities of citizens would be better utilized within the framework of the so-called economic lease [gazdasagi berlet]. This, I think, will find an echo and, on the basis of experience, we will be able to decide about the continuation.

[Question] Will the possibilities of the existing social and political organizations increase, including the noncommunist parties in Czechoslovakia? Are you planning the establishment of new, democratic forums?

[Fojtik] There is a need for a certain enlivening in this area; a certain formalism must be overcome, a formalism that is justifiably criticized. Regarding the new forums, what is rather more important is that we activate what is already in existence; there is an open and wide opportunity for this. However, naturally, if there is a demand for something new, for the establishment of something new, why not? In the 1970's, for example, a federation was created—the Society of Catholic Priests—that definitely supports, from a patriotic and peaceloving position, the policy of our state. We have come into a bit of a conflict, even with the Vatican, but it broke into the open, though not at that time. Certain reactionary circles in the Vatican have been taking a stance against the society rather more recently. Even in Czechoslovakia some people—Cardinal Tomasek, for example—do not like this movement. He views this as another church within the church, whereas this is not at all the case here. The Catholic priests have their own duties; we do not curb their obedience toward the Vatican. Just as any other citizen of the country, they, too, can enter into a voluntary organization the objective of which is support for the state, peace, assisting the development of society, and support for the blossoming of the country.

[Question] In many parts of the world, and even in some socialist countries, too, the strengthening of the national consciousness, and even in some places the sharpening of national minority problems, also can be observed. How do you assess the relationship between the Czechs and the Slovaks, and the situation of other national minorities, primarily that of the Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia?

[Fojtik] I do not think that with the strengthening of the national consciousness, which is an existing fact today, relations would be sharpened in some way. The increase in the consciousness has not led to conflict or confrontation, at least, not to the extent that it should worry us. It is a fact that national minority relations belong to the category of complex issues. There are those we had inherited from the past, when the rulers, the exploiting classes, to some extent built on the confrontation of nations and national minorities and made use of this antipathy to oppress the working class. They tied the workers of the nations and national minorities to themselves by confronting each with the working class of the other. This policy is of the past, but something of this has remained in the thinking of the people. This is history we must not forget, and therefore, even today, we must approach this issue very sensitively.

Our objective is the creation of conditions of rapproachment and understanding, rapproachment but not assimilation, not some kind of forceful intervention. I must say that when we discussed this problem with your representatives—the representatives of our country and of yours, and the representatives of our party and those of yours—the understanding was mutual, we are on an

essentially identical platform. Naturally, your representatives placed the emphasis on certain points, in the same way as ours do, but we always come to an agreement.

[Question] People in the street say that years that end with number eight have a particular significance in the history of Czechoslovakia. Nineteen Eighteen was the year in which independent Czechoslovakia was established; 1938 was the year in which the Munich Dictat was concluded; 1948 in which the socialist forces triumphed; 1968 the year of political crisis. What do you expect of 1988 now?

[Fojtik] This is some kind of mysticism of numbers. I rely on rationally thinking people, and therefore, I would not like to make forecasts. Regarding the ideas about 1988 and the years after we have outlined them in our plans and fundamental documents; I would be happy if these could be successfully materialized. However, even in the play of these numbers, there may be as much of a rational element as to say that we are moving toward the solution of difficult questions, too. We must solve complex problems. Understandably, some people envisage development in one way; others see it in a different way. Some people have a certain amount of worry, while others have such an excessive self-assurance that from one success to another, from one victory to another, [sentence as heard] We, too, have said this in the past, but it has not been the case for a long, long time, and this is right, too, because we must concentrate on those complex problems that lie ahead of us. I do not want to subject myself to the mystic of the number eight. I think that the problem worked out by the 17th party conference, and the process of its implementation creates an active situation. Success also depends on the way in which our propaganda, which is by far not omnipotent, works. I trust that we will be able to solve all the tasks facing us.

Human Rights Meeting Disrupted

AU141423 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 87 p 6

[Unsigned correspondent's report: "Disturbance [Vytrznost] in the Center of Prague"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—On Thursday [10 December] at dusk, a group of citizens made an attempt in Prague to abuse the "Day of Human Rights" by staging an antistate provocation. At Old Town Square it disturbed public order by means of various slogans about the alleged "suppression of human rights" in the CSSR. The provocateurs deliberately chose for their get-together a location that is now, in the pre-Christmas period, one of the most frequented public places.

Members of the Public Security Corps [VB] were at hand at the request of the Prague-1 Municipal District National Committee to ensure calm and order. In keeping with the law they escorted the initiators of the provocation to the nearest VB station. Thereafter the group of provocateurs dispersed.

As if by appointment, several journalists from NATO states were on the spot during the disturbances, some of whom had been loudly advertising the planned provocation days in advance in their information media.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Warsaw Pact Meeting

LD141158 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0245 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 14 Dec (ADN)—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today publishes the following leading article headlined "After the Meeting of the Leading Representatives of the Warsaw Pact."

The leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states met in Berlin immediately after the summit in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Coming directly from the United States, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee gave a briefing on the course and results of his meetings with the U.S. President and the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the removal of their medium- and short-range missiles — a result which opens up a great chance for setting out on a path which leads away from the arms race toward disarmament and detente and an improvement in the international situation. Erich Honecker described this treaty as a historic milestone on the way toward a nuclear weapon-free world, as a first practical recognition that humanity must be preserved from a nuclear inferno.

The representatives of the allied states expressed their warm gratitude and great recognition to Mikhail Gorbachev for the work he had done in the past few months, and in the past few days in particular, as well as for the Soviet Union's committed and energetic efforts for securing peace. They stated that he had negotiated in Washington with their mandate. Gratitude also comes to him from the depths of the hearts of all citizens of our republic. This was confirmed not least by the enthusiatic reception which thousands of Berliners gave the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee during his stay in our capital.

The positions and proposals put forward by the Soviet Union in Washington enjoy complete support and high esteem in all countries of the Warsaw Pact, as was unanimously stated at the Berlin meeting, because the results achieved in the negotiations correspond most closely to the vital interests of the peoples and are a gain for peace and security. It was emphasized with satisfaction that these results are at the same time the product of the joint peace-course of all Warsaw Pact member-states, as well as of the initiatives and activities of the socialist states, who unstintingly support the reduction of confrontation and the change to mutually advantageous cooperation in international relations.

In this context all participants stressed the constructive attitude of the GDR and the CSSR in their statement on the meeting which expressed their readiness to contribute to the fulfillment of the conditions of the treaty concerning these states. The agreement signed between the GDR, the USSR and the CSSR in connection with the treaty at the Berlin meeting is also to be assessed in this spirit. As far as we are concerned there is no doubt that the GDR, like the other fraternal states, will do all that is required to carry out the agreed measures to the letter.

The participants in the Berlin meeting also looked to the future. It was rightly emphasized that there are now favorable conditions for taking new energetic steps toward disarmament. They described it as being of deep significance that during the negotiations in Washington an agreement in principle between the USSR and the United States was achieved to reduce by half the strategic offensive weapons on both sides, while adhering strictly to the ABM Treaty. If the conclusion of a relevant treaty is to be made possible during the next summit meeting in the first half of the coming year, it would be a further significant step toward disarmament and the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

Among the next steps could be the ending of nuclear tests, the banning and removal of chemical weapons, as well as a reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe.

Indeed, it lies in the logic of things that with the disappearance of U.S. and USSR medium-range missiles, conventional disarmament moves to the fore of European security. The Warsaw Pact states reasserted in Berlin their readiness to adhere to the level necessary for defense. They propose to solve the problem of asymmetries and imbalances in individual types of weapons by a reduction by the side which has superior numbers. This is in accordance with the interests of all states on our continent.

This is all the more significant as there is now no lack of temptation to stop the transition from confrontation to detente. How else could it be explained that many are concerned that disarmament could go too far, that many influential forces are calling for compensating disarmament by arming in other areas.

Indeed, it is necessary to work tenaciously for the reduction of the tactical nuclear weapons remaining in Europe and their eventual removal, as well as a drastic reduction in conventional arms, from the Atlantic to the Urals, under the strictest control.

The Berlin meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states underlined to the whole world the resolution of these states to continue to make their joint contribution to strengthening peace, to disarmament, to the creation of a comprehensive system of international security, and to the solution of other complicated problems. The Warsaw Pact states announced 6 months ago at their meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Berlin, their will to achieve a nuclear-weapon-free world and to not shy away from any type of weapon with regard to disarmament. Further steps are being taken along this path. For this reason, at their current meeting

they once more underlined the giving of a new impetus to the struggle for peace so that further steps might follow the start of disarmament. To this end they extend the hand of close cooperation to all forces of reason and realism, who also support the maintenance and consolidation of peace, in order to banish war from the life of humanity for ever.

Commentator Praises Reagan-Gorbachev Summit

LD131431 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] A week of world politics, the like of which we have never experienced, lies behind us. Klaus-Dieter Kroeber draws up an initial balance sheet in the following commentary.

[Kroeber] Good evening. Great words also—and in particular—become worn out by overuse, yet one cannot avoid summing up this week's events in Washington and yesterday's in Berlin by once more calling them historic. Anyone who would have predicted this a few years ago would have been mocked as a dreamer; and in view of the clamor from across the Atlantic, one hardly dared hope for that which has now really come about. The first agreement between the superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—purposefully and energetically aimed for by Mikhail Gorbachev and backed up by the mandate of the allies—as was said yesterday at the Palast Hotel—the first agreement in the history of humanity has been signed for scrapping two categories of weapons which are among the most dangerous parts of the arsenal, with which the earth could be destroyed so completely that it would be as if we, our fathers, and our forefathers had never existed.

What I would like to call almost sensational in the treaty is the detailed solution of the extremely complicated problem of mutual inspection. In this area, as becomes clear by studying the wording of the treaty, a new quality of trust has been achieved which makes one optimistic for the future. In spite of all the continuing differences between the two systems, which were never disguised by either side in Washington, the point which has been constantly raised by the Soviet Union and its friends with almost incredible tenacity has finally begun to make inroads, the point that everyone's survival, even that of arms profiteers, is dependent on partnership, on coexistence. Thus, the fact that the basis for the next treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States has already been prepared and will be further worked on, that it will be ready to sign at the next meeting in Moscow in the first half of 1988, and the real possibility of a halving of the most fearsome nuclear weapons, the strategic ones, testifies to both the success of the 7-year diplomatic marathon—as Mikhail Gorbachev called it here yesterday—and to the indisputable fact that the end of arming has just begun. The dynamism of disarmament's replacing that of arming will take place against the resistance of those who have not yet stopped hanging on to the suicidal rationale of the past, who are now puzzling out who was the victor in Washington—as if every sensible person did not know that in the new phase there can only be victories of reason—and who are continuing to try to find gaps in other military areas, such as the new NATO general secretary-designate Woerner, in order to hold things up and to hold on to wornout stereotypes. There was no victory of arms in Washington, as Erich Honecker aptly put it yesterday, but a victory over arms.

What remains to be done includes much more than has been done, but the conditions for progress have improved incomparably in the areas of chemical weapons, the ending of nuclear weapons tests, and the reduction of forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, just to name the immediate issues. However, a start has been made. And no one would take it amiss if we add a small word of pride in belonging to the large family of those who took upon themselves the task of continuing that which Lenin, so to say, wrote in the founding documents of socialism as a state, of fighting for permanent peace in the world. How many millions had to die before the realization of this ancient dream, of this simple and apparently obvious humanist cooperation of all men of good will, was finally given its first chance? As Gorbachev said yesterday in Berlin, what happened this week was a prologue. The forces are there to write a play which makes the best message of the Christmas season to live in a true sense.

Further on Visit by SFRY's Mikulic

Gives Banquet Toast

AU101123 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 87 p 3

["Toast by Branko Mikulic," president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, at a dinner given in his honor in East Berlin on 7 December: "Joint Striving for Peace and Detente"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stoph, comrades, dear friends:

Permit me first to express—on behalf of my associates and on my own behalf—our warmest thanks for the cordial welcome and the friendly words you addressed to us.

We are very pleased about this visit to your country. It constitutes an opportunity to hold an exchange of views on the achievements reached in the development of our relations—and these are not small achievements—and on new ways of promoting cooperation and of further strengthening our friendship.

Our visit is taking place at the time of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and the GDR, which have been characterized in a particular and lasting way by President Tito and Chairman Honecker. This is an important moment for

our two friendly countries, which have achieved extraordinary results in all fields of cooperation over the past years and established a broad and stable basis for the further promotion of cooperation, and have made their contribution to consolidating trust and understanding in Europe and in the world.

Relations Are Being Successfully Developed [subhead]

In celebrating this important anniversary, we note with satisfaction that cooperation between the SFRY and the GDR and their sociopolitical organizations, between the parliaments, cities, and economic and other organizations is being successfully developed and promoted and a broad exchange of values and achievements in the fields of culture, science, and education is being held. Notable results have been achieved in the cooperation between our socialist republics and autonomous regions and the GDR bezirke, which gives all the mutual relations even wider scope and richer content. All this contributes to getting to know each other better and enriches our relations. This applies particularly to the economic area, where Yugoslavia and the GDR are becoming more and more important partners for each other. As we have noted today, there are opportunities and a need to develop higher forms of cooperation in the areas of production, industry, technology, and science on a lasting basis.

We also depend on this because of the current development of new technologies in the world. Technological and scientific achievements must not be the property of a small number of countries. They should be accessible to all countries of the world and should form a basis for the development and progress of the entire international community.

Esteemed friends, we are following the social and economic development of the GDR with attention and great interest and are sincerely pleased at each of its new achievements. We know about the great progress you have made in developing your country.

Yugoslavia, too, is making great efforts to implement successful socioeconomic development and to fully live up to today's challenges. We live in an important stage of the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, from which we will emerge—we are convinced—with greater economic stability and strength.

Dear Comrade Stoph: Our two countries and peoples have a common interest in peace in the world, in particular in Europe, where the past's bitter experience forever obligates us to make this continent a reliable factor of stability and progress in the world.

We have lived under conditions of confrontation and insecurity for too long. The Nonaligned Movement, as an independent, nonaligned, and global factor in international relations, is steadily working for the strengthening of peace and security, for comprehensive cooperation, for the strengthening of the awareness and the knowledge that we live on a common and indivisible planet, and that our fates depend on each other and are closely linked.

USSR-U.S. Meeting Is Particularly Important for Disarmament [subhead]

Today we are filled with the hope that we stand on the threshold of a new period, in which constructive dialogue and trust and international detente will dominate. With regard to all these aspects, the meeting and the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, which start in Washington today, are of particular importance. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of shorter- and longer-range medium-range missiles in Europe can become a historic turning point in starting the process of real and comprehensive disarmament.

Active Contribution to CSCE Process [subhead]

Our joint efforts within the framework of the CSCE conference have not only had a constructive effect on the relations between the countries participating in this process, but have also strengthened the conviction that there is no alternative to cooperation, detente, and consolidation of mutual trust when peace and progress in Europe and in the world are concerned.

We expect that the positive developments in international relations will contribute to concluding the Vienna meeting with success—with an agreement on continuing the negotiations on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. Our two countries will continue to contribute—within the limits of their powers—to strengthening the process of detente and consolidating cooperation, a contribution that is set down in the Helsinki Final Act.

Dear friends: Security, cooperation, and development in Europe are integral parts of general, worldwide conditions. They influence them and depend on them.

In this situation—and I am convinced that you share our opinion—new efforts by all countries are necessary in order to ensure a lasting process of negotiations and international detente. In this respect, we also must not lose sight of the need to undertake joint efforts to solve the accumulated economic and financial problems that are particularly rampant in the developing countries, whose situation is becoming increasingly difficult. The insight is gaining ground that there cannot be secure prospects and stability for the entire international economy without a rapid reduction of the gap between North and South and without the creation of appropriate

preconditions to develop the developing countries more rapidly. Unfortunately, there have not been corresponding actions in the developed part of our planet, that means, in the most highly developed industrial countries. This is best demonstrated by the debt crisis.

Initiatives to Strengthen Trust [subhead]

In its international activities, nonaligned Yugoslavia proceeds from the conviction that only profound political and economic changes in international relations can provide preconditions for the peaceful, free, and undisturbed development of all peoples and countries. Proceeding from its political philosophy, Yugoslavia is making its contribution, is putting forth initiatives, and is supporting the efforts for detente, to halt the arms race, and to strengthen trust and cooperation in the world. We attentively follow and appreciate the GDR's efforts in this respect and we welcome its initiatives and proposals with satisfaction.

Esteemed Comrade Stoph, dear friends: Our talks today have again confirmed our joint willingness to strengthen the friendly relations and to promote both bilateral and international cooperation in the interest of peace, security, and overall progress. I am convinced that our meeting will give a new stimulus to the implementation of such common efforts and will contribute to fulfill even better the interests of our two friendly socialist countries on a lasting basis.

I raise my glass —to the further overall development of the GDR; —to the health of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; —to your health, dear Comrade Stoph; —to the health of your associates; —to the further strengthening of the friendship and overall cooperation between our two countries!

'Special Friendship' With Italy Noted

AU101037 Rome ANSA in English 1021 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] (ANSA)—Berlin, December 10—Italy's new ambassador to East Germany, Alberto Indelicato, presented his credentials to head-of-state and party leader Erich Honecker here Wednesday in a protocol ceremony which East German sources said later expressed "special friendship" towards Italy.

Indelicato and Honecker spent over an hour together for "very cordial" consultations. The sources pointed out that one sign of the favour with which East Germany looks on its relations with Italy was the fact that Indelicato was received for the credentials ceremony so immediately after his arrival.

Another sign of favour was the military honours he received before the ceremony. The central band of East Germany's People's Army played the two national anthems in their entirety, rather than just brief extracts.

The meeting with Honecker lasted much longer than is usual for these occasions. According to Indelicato, he found the head-of-state "very well-informed" and inspired by "great friendship and sympathy" for Italy.

Indelicato's previous posting was with UNESCO in Paris.

24,621 Prisoners Released Under Amnesty

LD132200 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 13 Dec (ADN)—The GDR State Council heard a report from the State Prosecutor General about the implementation of the general amnesty on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the GDR. The State Council noted that the general amnesty—the most comprehensive since the foundation of the GDR—was properly concluded on 12 December 1987.

Some 24,621 people were released from prison. The sentence was not with regard to 2,741 people sentenced to imprisonment.

Proceedings were stopped with 1,753 people in custody. The sentence of life imprisonment on 311 people was reduced to 15 years imprisonment.

The releases from prison were thoroughly prepared by the justice and security organs together with the local councils in cooperation with enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions. Every citizen released from prison was provided with work, accomodation if necessary, and help in reintegrating into society.

Social forces such as the FDGB, the GDR, and the National Front, as well as magistrates and members of the social courts contributed their honorary work to successfully implementing the amnesty and realizing its humanistic concerns.

The justice and security organs continue to guarantee the comprehensive protection of socialist social order and its citizens against criminal attacks.

The State Council thanks all the state organs, enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, and the social forces for their responsible work in implementing the general amnesty.

Seven Human Rights Detainees Released

LD121651 Hamburg DPA in German 1948 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] East Berlin, (DPA)—According to informed circles, the seven members of the "peace and human rights" initiative who were detained by GDR security authorities in East Berlin on Thursday afternoon, were released on Friday evening. On human rights day members of the initiative intended to hand in a statement to the official

GDR human rights committee which called for an "open and truly democratic society." Security organs had, however, prevented the action right from the start.

Mittag Addresses Technology Congress

AU111123 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Dec 87 p 5

[Speech by Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, given at the Ninth Congress of the Chamber of Technology, in East Berlin on 4 December:"Race Against Time and Demands on the Engineers; Guenter Mittag Spoke About Topical Tasks in the Implementation of the 11th SED Congress Resolutions"]

[Text] The implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions, which is being carried out with vigor and commitment in all spheres of social life, is a really great task for us, Guenter Mittag pointed out in his speech. This task is completely in keeping with the interests of every citizen, serves their well-being, but at the same time requires energetic action from all of us.

We have decided to continue the unity of economic and social policy. This means linking a high increase in economic performance with increasing social results for the people. It means not being satisfied with what we have achieved, but constantly creating new conditions for the implementation of this challenging policy. This requires to an increasing degree the strengthening of the social impact of the intellectual and material potential that exists in the GDR, of its own forces and possibilities.

Economic Use of New Findings [subhead]

In this connection Guenter Mittag pointed out that there is only one way of ensuring the required dynamic economic growth: by intensively expanding production. This means, primarily, increasing labor productivity, upgrading raw materials and other materials to a higher degree, and making the most economical use of energy. This means that the 10 focal points of the economic strategy are to be taken as a basis for all tasks. This is also the yardstick for the entire scientific-technological work, for the demand for the qualification, skill, and commitment of every individual worker, and for responsible leadership activity which strictly adheres to the requirements of the plan.

The overall decisive factor for significant progress in intensification is the economic use of findings from science and technology, the Politburo member stated. This makes it necessary to always apply the highest standards in science and technology, to strive for what is objectively necessary and not for what seems subjectively possible to one or the other person. Only this uncompromising approach will make it possible to win the "race against time."

Microelectronics and Productivity [subhead]

Development since the 11th SED Congress has been characterized by the great struggle in the broad application of key technologies, with the pace being accelerated in important spheres. Guenter Mittag stressed the significance of microelectronics as the basis of key technologies and of modern industrial production. Today microelectronics determines the standard of 66 percent of all machine tools, textile machines, and printing machines produced in the GDR. In 1990 this will be 85 percent. This is a basic trend in today's development. Microelectronics permeates the entire machine building sector and changes the quality of the products. Increasing use is to be made of the advantages of microelectronics in the development and production of high-quality consumer goods that are produced in large series.

With the high level that the GDR has reached in linking machine building and microelectronics, it is keeping up with international standards. Some achievements in flexible automated production sections, for example, are already pointing in this direction. The highest technological level and the high productivity of these machines and automated systems open up new possibilities in international markets. Above all, they create a basis that provides rich prospects for further strengthening fraternal cooperation with the USSR.

This demonstrates the correctness of the decisions adopted 10 years ago with regard to development, production, and application of microelectronics in the GDR and the acceleration of the pace of development in this decisive field in keeping with international requirements. This made it possible for the GDR to be and to continue to be in the forefront of modern industrial states, not only with regard to quantity, but also with regard to quality, Mittag pointed out.

In enterprises, in scientific institutions, in the field of education and other spheres, numerous scientific-technological cadres, workers, younger and older working people are tackling this task with vigor and commitment. Without this dedication it would not be possible to obtain high social and economic results from such a tremendous process at such a pace. In this, the members of the Chamber of Technology have a leading role.

Guenter Mittag emphasized that outstanding achievements are accomplished in several spheres, especially in developing and producing the 256-kilobit memory circuits as well as 32-bit computers. In this way the technological embargo was overcome in important spheres and the way was shown how the GDR can catch up with international standards through its own achievements.

Modern computer technology which, through the initiatives of Robotron in Soemmerda and Dresden, is available to a larger extent than originally planned, is to be applied on a large scale to increase productivity. The economic results must surpass the targets set so far. In this connection, a vast field is opening up for the enterprise section of the Chamber of Technology to

vigorously contribute to a more efficient use of CAD/CAM work stations so that labor productivity will be increased at a remarkably quicker pace.

We deem it correct that, in all enterprises where prerequisites for this are maturing, the thoughts and the work are directed toward getting away from so-called "island solutions" [Inselloesung] and toward preparing computer-assisted production in all spheres. But in order to achieve this aim it is not sufficient to have only a technological-organizational concept. Above all it is necessary to know what is changing in the economic sense, what the resulting power increase is, and what products can then be produced more economically. This "economic principle" applied in searching organizational and technological solutions must permeate all spheres of work.

An Assignment for the Whole Society [subhead]

At this point Guenter Mittag stressed that, if we speak of new products, it is not primarily a change in construction that is involved, but a higher economic yield, resulting in a profit for the enterprise and higher export revenues. If we speak of new technologies, it is not a matter of changing technology as such but of changing the economy, resulting in the transition to a higher level of labor productivity and in reduced manufacturing expenditure.

This and nothing else is the yardstick, and this is how we assess what has been achieved.

In the GDR it is a social concern, even a social task, to develop and apply science and technology for the benefit of the people. At the 11th Party Congress Erich Honecker pointed out that the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, which has entered a new phase of development, are to be even more efficiently linked with the advantages of socialism. This means

—higher labor productivity while avoiding unemployment; —more and better products for the supply of the population and not decrease in the purchasing power of the masses; —decreasing social expenditure and higher national income, and not highest profits in the interest of a few.

With Passion and Readiness To Take Risks [subhead]

It should be the concern of all researchers and engineers to break new ground in the development of modern productive forces through their own contributions, and to help develop new products and most modern technological methods, which are advantageous from an economic point of view. And it should be the work of the enterprise sections of the Chamber of Technology that contributes to enabling them to do such work and to encouraging them to face up to the requirements of the struggle for the highest creative achievements and their most efficient economic.

On the basis of the targets stipulated in the national economic plans and the scientific-technological tasks resulting therefrom, the enterprise sections and the leaders of the Chamber of Technology should actively help to motivate researchers and engineers to take a creative approach so that real breakthroughs with lasting economic efficiency can be achieved to a larger extent in decisive technical and technological spheres.

Support for Young Researchers [subhead]

It is characteristic that it was the members of the Chamber of Technology in particular who, through bold and unconventional ideas, provided strong impulses for performance when it was necessary to master problems that occurred and to motivate every individual to use creative restlessness and a militant spirit and give his best for the joint success.

Many enterprise sections rightly support the youth research collectives, the speaker said. In their struggle for top positions in key technologies, the innovators are also making a decisive contribution, he added.

A high level of training is important for the efficient and broad application of key technologies. It is primarily a question of developing the readiness for further education, because this is the precondition for active participation in technological progress.

In this connection Guenter Mittag paid tribute to the fact that, through vocational courses, correspondence courses, and practical training, the Chamber of Technology helps researchers, engineers, and skilled workers to familiarize themselves with the latest findings and to apply them in an efficient manner. This is equally true for the proven Chamber of Technology schools for inventors, which have developed into true centers for increasing the creativity of researchers and engineers.

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Results Lauded

Szuros Hails INF Accords

LD121632 Budapest MTI in English 1527 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—The agreement concluded at the Washington summit of Gorbachev and Reagan on the dismantling of the medium and intermediate-range missiles, 'resulted from the political will of the Soviet Union and the United States, and can be attributed to the merits of the present leaders of these countries,' states Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP, in an interview in Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG. As he points out 'the new foreign policy of the Soviet Union,' was the propelling force of the process leading to the agreement.

'The view that derives from the interdependence of the countries of the world, the continuous Soviet efforts based on the principle of rational and sufficient security, along with the flexibility and readiness for compromises pushed the talks through the deadlock. The conclusion of the agreement also required the sober consideration of the United States and its will to reach an accord. I think that the international atmosphere, including the spirit of Helsinki, also played a role in the decision of the two great powers. The small and medium countries, such as Hungary with its moderate means, contributed to the creation of such an atmosphere.'

The current agreement is the first accord on the actual elimination of nuclear weapons, and in line with it the first system of a reciprocal and comprehensive verification. These facts prove that political will can settle conflicts that earlier had been considered unsurmountable. The agreement has restored belief in such political will. Strict verification is indispensible for the implementation of certain provisions of the agreement, and for strengthening mutual trust, as it is the only way to further arms reduction deals. Increased trust at the same time is an important prerequisite of deepening the Soviet-U.S. and, in a wider sense, the whole East-West dialogue, and it also improves the international atmosphere. In my view this is the long-term value of the agreement.

'By having done its utmost to reach the agreement, the Soviet Union gave a clear proof of its new security policy concept. Accordingly, starting from the fact of interdependence, it wants to reach an equilibrium of military forces at the lowest possible level of armaments, and to reduce its armed forces to a rationally sufficient level. This is not a surrender or concession to the United States but common sense. Having taken the first move, which is always the most difficult to do, we have got closer to the establishment of a secure world free of nuclear weapons.'

'As a matter of course Hungary and the other socialist countries support the Soviet endeavours, as the Soviet Union acts in accordance with coordinated policy. The dismantling of medium and shorter-range missiles does not threaten our security because the global balance of forces have not altered. We are convinced that the current agreement is only the first step. Hungary holds that in the interest of the genuine reinforcement of the European security not only nuclear but also chemical weapons should be eliminated, along with the reduction of the conventional armaments. Military doctrines should also be transformed,' emphasized Matyas Szuros in his interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

Varkonyi Views INF Treaty

LD132012 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 87

["The Week" program; Studio interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by unidentified correspondent; on 12 December—recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Correspondent] I would like to welcome in the studio Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi. You accompanied Janos Kadar at the Berlin meeting where Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the party heads of the Warsaw Pact member states on the Washington summit. What was the essence and content of Mikhail Gorbachev's brief in Berlin?

[Varkonyi] Now I think we can say that it has become a tradition for the Warsaw Pact member states to meet in an operational manner at the summit level in order to evaluate more important events and actions, and to conduct an exchange of views. This is very necessary for the common struggle we are waging in order to create a more peaceful world and to achieve general disarmament.

In this respect, Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Washington and the signing of the treaty on the destruction of small- and medium-range nuclear missiles is a step of historic proportions, and this is how it was described in Berlin by the party leaders. Comrade Gorbachev gave a detailed account of his negotiations and that these were rather tough, although useful, and fruitful negotiations which will be followed by others.

[Correspondent] Did any breakthrough or significant development occur in addition to the signing?

[Varkonyi] I would like to draw your attention to the joint statement adopted there. This states that an agreement in principle has been reached on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. It will probably be possible to sign a treaty to this effect when President Reagan visits Moscow.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, the treaty signed now by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will disarm 3 percent of nuclear weapons, with 97 percent remaining. How much safer has the world become?

[Varkonyi] It is true that the vast majority of these weapons will survive. Unfortunately, it continues to be true that the arms race is still going on in other areas. To see how significant an event this is, going beyond the fact that this now represents 3-4 percent, we must be aware that this is the first serious disarmament treaty for nuclear weapons since Hiroshima. This does not simply mean that we have now signed something and the matter ends there. The treaty gives hope to everyone who fights for our being able to live in a world free of nuclear weapons. So the treaty can be regarded as a first step.

I would like to draw your attention to a second matter. It may be 3-4 percent, but these weapons are here in Europe. This is another reason why it is very important to us.

Furthermore, these short- and medium-range missiles represented a very serious threat from Hungary's viewpoint. They can reach Hungarian territory within 3-4 minutes. So one can imagine the threatening situation in which we have worked in the past, and we can, to a certain extent, do our work in an easier situation in the future.

[Correspondent] The two countries' legislatures must still ratify this treaty. Let me remind you that exactly 8 years ago the U.S. legislature did not ratify the Salt-2 Treaty because of world political reasons. What is the situation now? What is the probability of the U.S. Senate's endorsement of the treaty signed now?

[Varkonyi] I think that the situation is very different from that [which surrounded] the debate over the ratification of the earlier agreement. Throughout the whole world—not only the countries of the two superpowers—but the overwhelming majority of the states and the masses desire, even, demand the agreement. A politician who sets himself against this general wish would easily become isolated from not only his own electors but the rest of the world too. In other words, the situation has changed in this respect. Many articles and reports have appeared about the way in which individual senators assess this treaty and the opinion is unanimous that the overwhelming majority of the Senate supports the ratification of this treaty. I must add that this agreement is not only in the interests of the Soviet Union but also in the interests of the United States. Here the realistic interests of both sides have converged and it has made possible the signing of the agreement, which is very important. For its continuation, well, we must work hard in order that this process should continue.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, you used the word we. Isn't the next step that the Soviet Union and the United States carry out negotiations about 50-percent reductions of strategic weapons. These weapons, however, are their weapons. What is the role of the small countries like Hungary in preparation for such big events?

[Varkonyi] I would mention two things. One of these is that we have a concept. Comrade Gorbachev stressed just how important it is that the socialist countries, the member states of the Warsaw Pact have a comprehensive program, a concept as to what we intend to achieve in the world. It is a very clear program and essentially we are able to enjoy its first fruits just now, but still a lot of work remains. It is for this reason that the socialist countries, including our homeland, have submitted a proposal at the United Nations for a debate over the creation of a universal, comprehensive, international peace and security system, which includes every question, every global issue, and a series of problems facing mankind. It is very important and we think that the United Nations is a suitable organization to conduct such a comprehensive system and to materialize this.

In other words, it is a part of our future tasks, our work. The other part is in connection with the disarmament of nuclear weapons—the removal of medium-range and shorter-range missiles—and that conventional weapons and conventional forces are reevaluated in Europe too, naturally, and primarily in Europe. [as heard] Therefore, it is very important that negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact about the radical reduction of conventional armaments, weapons, and armed forces should start within the framework of the Helsinki process as soon as possible. We are ready for this and we hope that this Washington summit has given an impetus to the delegates in order that we should be able to create a mandate for the coming negotiations and that negotiations on conventional weapons should be able to start as early as next year.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, for taking time between two of your foriegn negotiations to share your information with us. For this conversation is a recorded one; it was made yesterday. Where are you going to travel next?

[Varkonyi] I am leaving for Egypt this afternoon—we are here in the studio this Saturday morning—for an official visit. I was invited by the Egyptian foreign minister; I shall meet the president, the prime minister, and several ministers too. It is very important for us to develop relations with the countries of the Middle East, Egypt, and other countries too. Regarding Egypt, we have been observing in recent years that the former, traditionally good relations are now again on the rise and we would like to provide an impetus, an incentive toward this and for the development of relations.

[Correspondent] Thanks, I wish you a good journey and successful negotiations.

Budapest Radio on Accord

LD131025 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Dec 87

[From the "168 Hours" program, with foreign affairs journalists Istvan Kulcsar, Eva Vertes, and Endre Gomori]

[Text] [Kulcsar] My first question is: Has anything surprising happened at the Washington summit? Endre Gomori:

[Gomori] In my view there has not been anything amazing, unless one thinks of the pair of golden cufflinks or Ron and Mikhail being on first-name terms, because to be honest I did not expect that. What I did expect—and this did not happen—was that the outlines of a 50 percent reduction of strategic missiles would be drawn at least in the form of a framework agreement. So I have to say completely subjectively that while I regard the change in style and atmosphere as hugely important, I think that what happened was a shade less than I expected.

[Vertes] So the question is what we expected, for I cannot recall another Soviet-U.S. summit meeting which had been preceded by such heightened—not even expectations—but tension; tension in the positive sense. And then this temperature—I do not want to say that it fell completely—but it somehow readjusted itself to its normal level.

[Gomori] The very conservative French philosopher, Raymond Aron, once said that a pessimist who does not have good information is not an optimist.

It would nevertheless say that my feeling is that it would have been better if a little bit more had happened. Perhaps what I am saying does not fit this euphoria flooding the press and the media throughout the world. But I think that before April one cannot expect the U.S. legislature to ratify this agreement, although I think the chances of ratification are good. At the same time, the delegations at Geneva have been instructed to prepare this certain far-reaching agreement on the 50 percent reduction of strategic weapons before Reagan's Moscow summit, scheduled for the middle of 1988 at the latest. The issue of the medium-range missiles lasted nearly 10 years, and the issue of the strategic missiles is extremely difficult. It has many repercussions for verification, for the conduct of the allies, for the stability of the internal structure of NATO—I shall not go on—not to mention China, how China would react to such an agreement. So I wonder if time is not too short for this, and if it is too short, the United States will become submerged under the presidential election of November 1988.

So I have to say that this has been a very important, very valuable summit meeting, but there is a risk that they will encounter time troubles.

[Kulcsar] Yes, this danger exists. One thing did not surprise me, by the way. This may not be a great sensation, but with the publication now of the addendum of the medium-range missile treaty, this memorandum which to the very last minute had been kept very secret, what emerges from it is that contrary to the U.S. assertions, there were considerably more U.S. missiles in Europe than the Americans had said, and considerably fewer Soviet missiles than had been alleged, once again, by the Americans.

As for the euphoria, I am very cautious because I burned my fingers in Reykjavik. I reported very pessimistically on Reykjavik as a failure—I have to admit this with hindsight. And only now do we see that it was not a failure, because here is its continuation.

[Vertes] So it was the starting point. It was in the interest of both the Soviet leader and the U.S. president, although the interests differ, that this meeting should materialize, and that it should materialize in this way as a working meeting. It might perhaps have been more in Reagan's interest if this had turned out as a spectacular show. And it is obvious that in a sense this is the first tangible and demonstrable success of the new Soviet foreign policy philosophy. And it must be demonstrated, probably at home primarily, to those who may not perhaps agree with all aspects of Gorbachev's policies. And in the same way Reagan was in extremely great need of such a specific agreement, such a specific success; not Reagan personally, but his party. You have already mentioned the approaching elections.

[Kulcsar] Well, it is clear that so far both men have gained. The question, as Endre Gomori says, is how it will continue. Let us briefly, and really briefly, assess or try to assess the chances of the treaty signed now being ratified by the Senate before April or May, because this is one of the preconditions for the next step.

[Gomori] I see no serious danger of the Senate not ratifying it, unless, I would add, something happens.

[Vertes] I am certain it will be ratified on this occasion, too. But an increasing number of letters are arriving at Soviet newspapers and forums in which people ask why the USSR is undertaking to destroy more missiles than the United States.

[Kulcsar] I do not doubt that there are such opinions in the USSR and more than a few people ask this question, but I would like to be as relaxed about the treaty being ratified in the United States as I am about its chances of being ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Gomori] You are quite right, but I tend to take Gorbachev very seriously, even when he is joking.

Kadar Returns From Pact Meeting

LD112032 Budapest MTI in English
1901 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, who attended the meeting of the first and general secretaries of the fraternal parties of Warsaw Treaty

Organization, arrived in Budapest on Friday evening together with his party Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence.

At the Ferihegy reception were Gyorgy Lazar, deputy general secretary of the HSWP, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, and Secretaries of State Gyula Horn of the Foreign Ministry and Lajos Morocz of the Ministry of Defence, both members of the Central Committee, Karl-Heinz Lugenheim, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Hungary, was also present.

Havasi Returns From Warsaw Visit
LD131728 Budapest MTI in English
1529 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 13 (MTI)—Headed by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, the delegation of the Budapest Party Committee returned from Warsaw on Sunday. The delegation spent two days in the Polish capital on the invitation of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP).

Ferenc Havasi attended the conference of the first secretaries of the capitals of six socialist countires (Berlin, Budapest, Moscow, Prague, Sofia and Warsaw) where experience of cooperation was discussed.

The participants met Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP.

Ferenc Havasi signed an agreement with the first secretaries of Sofia and Prague on the cooperation of the party and social organs of the capitals and the metropolitan councils.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits 7-12 Dec
LD121645 Budapest MTI in English
1534 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Headed by Dimitriy Nikitin, head of the council department, the delegation of the bureau and secretariat of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet visited Hungary from December 7 to 12. The delegation met Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Horvath, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Hungarian-SFRY Talks: Sign of Cooperation
AU140833 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian
9 Dec 87 p 5

[Article signed R.M.: "Dialogue in Good Spirits"]

[Text] The relationship between Hungary and the SFRY is cited as a good example of cooperation between two neighboring countries. We know that this has not always been so, but currently—and it has been like this for several years—we can point to an increasing number of results in the development of our relations.

This fact was reflected in the recent talks the SFRY Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs held in Budapest, during which much was said about matters we have in common and problems we have that are similar despite the fact that our countries are proceeding along their own paths to socialist construction. The fact that we have quite a few problems in Hungary is not kept secret, and that there are problems on the other side of the border is also not concealed. Finding a way out of the crisis and perfecting the political system—that is, searching for the most effective cure—are the most important issue in the Belgrade press. The people in Belgrade know that concealing difficulties does not eliminate them.

Despite the deliberate Yugoslav national and national minorities policy, we hear increasingly more news nowadays about the intensification of the contradictions, especially in the province of Kosovo, where the authorities are worried by activities by Albanian extremists—activities that are already becoming dangerous. However, we acknowledge with relief that the Yugoslav national minorities have equal rights and this explains the fact that there are no disputes between our countries in this area. The Hungarians who live in our southern neighboring country are able to speak their mother tongue freely, develop their culture, and, of course, maintain contacts with Hungary. The situation of the national minorities residing in Hungary is also no cause for concern and this is greatly appreciated in Belgrade. For this reason it was repeatedly stated during the talks held by the foreign ministers that the Hungarian national minority in the SFRY and the Croatian, Serbian and Slovene minorities in Hungary play the role of a bridge in the relations between the two countries. Being aware of this and with our minds at ease, we raised the national minorities issue at the Vienna CSCE together with our neighbor to the south so that the rights of national minorities could be assured throughout the world and that states do not treat this issue as purely a domestic affair.

In all probability, the Hungarian-SFRY dialogue will continue in the usual good spirit in the future, with the emphasis now being placed primarily on economics. The goal here is to eliminate unfavorable phenomena and explore possibilities that will promote further acceleration of economic relations. Both sides would like to have closer relations, and to establish direct exchanges of goods between enterprises and create joint enterprises. It is clear from the talks between Peter Varkonyi and Raif Dizdarevic that our interests in this areas coincide and that now is the time for action.

Soviets, Hungarians Demand Civil Rights
AU111326 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
11 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed Moscow Budapest report: "Programs With Demands in Moscow and Budapest"]

[Text] Moscow/Budapest—In a 12 point declaration 31 Soviet civil right activists have demanded among other things that "equal rights be granted to both, believers and atheists" as well as the "unconditional release and rehabilitation of all political prisoners." The declaration was adopted at a seminar of the Leningrad group of the "International Society for Human Rights." Several groups in Hungary that are critical of the regime have published an eight-point program for the "unrestricted assertion of human rights". This year alone, there have been 15 cases of house searches, confiscations, and harassment involving independent publications, and of fines against dissidents, it was stated. Freedom of belief and of assembly also only exist on paper, it was pointed out.

Situation of Conscientious Objectors Reported
AU141200 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Karl Stipsicz report]

[Text] There are 150 innocent young men being held in the prisons of the Hungarian People's Republic. They have been sentenced to 3 years in prison without any hope of their sentences being commuted. The crime they have been charged with is conscientious objection.

(Karol Kiszey) was one of them. Already 10 years ago the Catholic theologian refused to join the Hungarian People's Army. (Kiszey) pleaded his belief.

[Begin Kiszey recording] According to the traditional Catholic teachings, no one may act against his conscience, and this also applies to military service. I had problems with my conscience with regard to armed military service. [end recording]

Official representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic proudly call their country a state without political prisoners—a term which the country's Catholic bishops accept with approving nods, because 1 year ago they unanimously noted in a statement that the obligation of military service may not be refused by the citizen and cannot be condemned from the Christian point of view. Critics of the official Hungarian church called this statement a prostration on the part of the bishops to the Communist state. Ten years ago (Karol Kiszey's) judges could also rely on the Church's keeping silent.

In contrast to the Catholic Church, members of various sects, such as Jehovah's Witnesses or Nazarenes, are permitted to plead their belief when refusing to do armed military service in Hungary.

In General Jaruzelski's Poland there are also limited possibilities for Catholics to do unarmed military service.

The GDR, which very proudly cultivates its Prussian military traditions, permits young men to obey the state as well as their pacifist conscience by working as construction soldiers.

It is a mystery why conscientious objectors are prosecuted so relentlessly in Hungary, the East Bloc's liberal showcase. Hungarian opposition members speak of a Stalinist relic that has simply been forgotten while laboriously clearing out the remnants of the bloody past.

But there is also another explanation for the hard stand of the Hungarian military authorities. Unlike the passionate hussars of the operettas set in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hungarian soldiers are extremely listless and unmotivated. The Hungarian generals want to counter this lack of motivation, which was recently ascribed to all Warsaw Pact armies by a study of the U.S. Defense department, with overly rigid regulations.

For years the authorities had recommended (Karol Kiszey), the spokesman of the Hungarian conscientious objectors, to leave the country. At the beginning of September the bearded theologian was escorted to the Budapest Danube quay by a policeman. Shortly before embarking on the ship to Vienna, he was given a sheet of orange paper—an official note of expulsion. The message told him that the authorities had already started proceedings to strip him of the Hungarian citizenship.

But it seems that (Kiszey's) pacifist struggle against the windmills of Hungarian bureaucracy has not been totally in vain. A few days ago the Hungarian Government reduced military service for future theologians from 18 to 12 months.

Protests Mark Eve of Martial Law Anniversary

'Hundreds' Demonstrate in Gdansk

AU131751 Paris AFP in English 1737 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13 (AFP)—Police in the Baltic port of Gdansk on Sunday broke up a demonstration by hundreds of people marking the sixth anniversary of martial law in Poland, reports reaching here said.

The protestors, supporting the banned Solidarity trade union, gathered near Saint Brigit Church at the city's shipyards after a mass attended by 6,000 people, among them Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Addressing nearly 1,000 people in front of the church, the Nobel Peace Prize winner called for a new rally Wednesday at a memorial in Gdansk for workers killed in police violence.

The day commemorates the death of several Silesian coal miners by police three days after the imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981.

On their way to the city centre people shouted "no liberty without Solidarity" and "we want Lech (Walesa) and not (party leader) Wojciech (Jaruzelski)."

No arrests were made when police dispersed the crowd, sources said.

Saint Brigit Parish Priest Henryk Jankowski called the day martial law was proclaimed a "tragedy because the government declared war on the nation."

"We cannot back such a governmment," he said, calling on the people to "continue to support the ideals that Solidarity fought for."

Mr. Walesa said December 13, 1981 is "a shame for the nation and its rulers."

Martial law ended the legal existence of Solidarity, which was officially founded in August 1980. The clampdown was lifted in July 1983.

In a petition to parliament 1,216 Gdansk inhabitants called for the release of all "political prisoners" in Poland.

According to Solidarity sources, 18 people are still being held under "political" charges, with 12 being conscientious objectors.

In another demonstration at Nowa Huta near the southern city of Krakow two hundred people shouted their support for the outlawed union. Police did not intervene, sources said.

Solidarity Activist Detained, Released

AU131543 Paris AFP in English 2354 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13 (AFP)—Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a leading Solidarity activist, has been released after spending several hours at a police station in his hometown of Wroclaw, south west Poland, informed sources here said.

Mr Frasyniuk, a member of Solidarity's National Executive Committee, had been taken away from his home by two plain-clothes police on Saturday morning, his wife had reported.

The sources here said the arrest had been aimed at preventing him from attending a scheduled meeting with Wroclaw high school students on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the martial law proclamation that sent the opposition trade union underground.

Other opposition militants have been kept under surveillance in the past few days and identity checks have been stepped up in Warsaw and other cities, according to reports reaching here.

Martial law was proclaimed on December 13, 1981 ending the legal existence of Solidarity, which was officially founded in August 1980. The clampdown was lifted in July 1983.

Pacifists Begin Hunger Strike

LD132309 Hamburg DPA in German 1922 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Nine members of the Polish pacifist movement Freedom and Peace (WIP) today began a hunger strike on the 6th anniversary of the introduction of martial law, which has in the meantime been repealed. They want to force the release of 11 conscientious objecters from prison. As the human rights activist Jan Jozef Lipski announced, the hunger-strike, on which as yet no time limit has been set, is being held in a private residence in the Warsaw borough of Ursynow.

The participants in the campaign stressed in a statement that with the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981, Polish soldiers had, not for the first time, been led out of their barracks to do battle with their compatriots. There were many Poles who refused military service in support of the ideology of nonviolence and called for a civilian substitute. [passage omitted]

Further on Reactions to U.S.-USSR INF Treaty

'Fulfilled Expectations'

LD111425 Warsaw PAP in English 0059 GMT 11 Dec 87

["Meeting of Fulfilled Expectations"—by PAP commentator Andrzej Rayzacher—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—The three days of the Washington talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will surely enter history textbooks dealing with

the end of our century. Everything seems to indicate that in the wake of this summit the world can become completely different from the world of fear which we have known thus far.

The treaty on the extremely scrupulous verification of the elimination of nuclear intermediate-range missiles signed by both leaders is a roadsign as how to retreat from the fatal road towards nuclear annihilation.

The summit in Washington was also a platform for exchange of frequently greatly divergent views formulated very decisively and frankly. Their exchange did not lead to any big progress in agreeing on the ways of solving regional conflicts in the world. The tendency of the American hosts to take the rostrum as teachers or even judges in matters where their account is surely not clean enough for them to claim the right to mete out sentences, aroused understandable distaste on the part of the Soviet guests. The Soviet leader drew attention to this in talks with congressmen, publishers and editors.

These discrepancies, however, did not disrupt both sides in preparing a kind of calendar of joint efforts for the future. It also goes to show a growing, bilateral wish for improving relations between the superpowers and justifies calling the Washington summit a meeting of fulfilled expectations.

'Stronger Mutual Trust'

AU121715 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Dec 87 p 2

[Tadeusz Cepak commentary: "The Primacy of Common Sense"]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles has been signed.

This is an unusual event, one that will be recorded as a most significant fact in the life of our generation. This fact is of historic importance, primarily because of the political-social and military status of the problems it concerns directly or indirectly.

The Soviet-U.S. treaty primarily reduces tension in the world and helps to foster mutual trust. It will initiate a new phase in relations between the two powers, although it still does not amount to a return to the era of detente and the full normalization of relations. New reasons for active negotiations in Geneva and Vienna and for activities by the less committed states have been created. The time has come to halt Western propaganda practices in disarmament and to begin to promote real disarmament policy. The old maxim transferred from the United States to Western Europe that "the more weapons, the better security" is ceasing to operate. New foundations and political structures of security are beginning to emerge.

The current treaties on security were of enormous importance, but only the 1972 convention on biological weapons had eliminated a certain kind of weapons from the arsenals.

Two very important elements of stronger mutual trust also denote the historic value of the present Soviet-U.S. treaty: For the first time since the war the continuity of the arms race has been interrupted because two classes of weapons are to be eliminated from the two powers' nuclear missile arsenals. It should be stressed that this reduction in the overall potential of weapons is not very large, but the treaty has become a good beginning and a model solution for further disarmament measures such as reductions in strategic nuclear weapons and the elimination of chemical weapons, tactical nuclear weapons, and even conventional weapons. Second, the two sides adopted an extensive and detailed system of verifying and controlling the adopted measures of reduction.

In regard to negotiations on disarmament, verification and control of the decisions made and of the implementation by the sides of their obligations are a most complicated process because this process concerns the sensitive issue of mutual security. Various control and verification devices have been tried to check on cease-fire arrangements, truces, demilitarized zones, and so on.

The present SALT I and SALT II accords also provide for certain control arrangements and for certain institutions, which are to settle vague issues. The Permanent Consultative Commission set up in line with SALT I is still active and meets periodically in Geneva to examine and clarify mutual reservations and doubts.

The present treaty provides for extensive exchanges of initial information on numbers, deployment, technical parameters, missiles, and nuclear warheads, and on the place, time, and method of their destruction. This information can be verified with the help of the national technical means and extensive on-the-spot inspections and control checks can be made if the other side decides that the treaty has been violated. Permanent control teams can appear at the points of the demolition of launching pads and even in production plants.

Exceptionally frequent inspections are envisaged during the removal and destruction of missiles and their warheads, but later on the number of these inspections will be reduced slightly. Inspections of demolitions can take place in third countries where missiles to be removed have been based. For example, Great Britain, the FRG, and Czechoslovakia are such countries. The number and frequency of inspections and the number of missile bases to be checked is astounding. The mutual verification system and inspection on demand, which cannot be refused, are the most stringent form of checking on the credibility of data and of the implementation of the treaty.

Whereas the treaty expresses the mutual trust of the sides, the control of the treaty's implementation is the most credible guarantee of this trust and of the trust in the created security. It is correct to say that reason dominates over the threat of annihilation and real opportunities to ensure security with reduced forces and greater confidence dominate over confrontation and mistrust stimulated in the West.

Whereas previously the West was bent on creating misunderstandings, animosities, and even hostility, today the new Soviet political approach—full of realism, good will, and readiness to make reasonable compromises—has produced the need for eliminating stereotypes and old terms from political and military-industrial vocabularies. This need is especially pronounced in the United States. It is hard for the West to argue that the USSR or the Warsaw Pact countries are a threat when they remove this supposed threat.

The Washington treaty is a result of a sharp struggle and conflict of interests in the U.S. Administration, which is the most conservative in the history of the U.S. Government and in NATO. After all, the FRG Government boarded the disarmament train at the last moment as it began to move, and other countries still continue to demand that tactical nuclear weapons be retained. Demands for additional conventional arms are also being made. On the other hand, rational steps are lacking to increase trust and to decrease armaments. The Jaruzelski plan, which is being subjected to extensive diplomatic consultations, deals precisely with these two questions, which are of capital importance for Europe's future. This plan is an important part of the socialist community's activities to reduce tension and to promote that modern political thinking which resulted in the signing of the Washington treaty.

'In Our Interest'

LD121350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 11 Dec 87

[From the "World Panorama" program, presented by Jan Gadomski and Boleslaw Broszczak]

[Text] From summit to summit—that is how one might describe in brief today's journey by Mikhail Gorbachev from Washington to Berlin. Even yesterday, in the capital of the United States, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphatically stressed the creative cooperation of the allies of the Soviet Union in the shaping and implementation of the new peace policy.

In Berlin today Mikhail Gorbachev informed the leaders of the socialist states about the course of the Washington summit, and the conclusions arising therefrom. The participation of the foreign and defense ministers in this meeting points unequivocally to its practical character. This allowed the adoption of immediate joint decisions, assuring the implementation of the concluded agreements, fully accepted by the Warsaw Pact member states, as well as decisions facilitating further steps in the direction of further disarmament possibilities.

It should be stressed here that the Washington treaty concerning the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles was also concluded in our, Polish, interest. Today it is surely not necessary to prove this: It will measurably enhance our national security.

Let us also notice that we are not a passive object of this policy. On the contrary: by tradition Poland is a creative partner of Soviet peace activity. Recently we have been demonstrating an increased dynamic in this sphere.

An example: The Jaruzelski plan. The Berlin summit of the socialist countries, confirming the support of the community for the actions of the Soviet Union, has become yet another proof of the correct direction of our Polish international activity.

'The World Is Satisfied'

AU141339 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 87 p 1

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "The Challenge of the Future"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's and Ronald Reagan's Washington summit ended on 10 December. The world is satisfied because the treaty on eliminating Euromissiles was signed and because there is hope that this good beginning will produce still better results.

The difference of 6 hours between Warsaw and Washington makes it impossible to provide an immediate and full evaluation of the entire summit. At this moment it is almost midnight in Warsaw, but in Washington it is just past 1700, and M. Gorbachev's press conference is still on. Let us therefore wait for a fuller evaluation of this historic trip and for the appraisals presented by the very heroes of this summit.

However, it is worth recording one's immediate impressions and observations. First, the summit produced an unprecedented event in the history of the postwar relations between great powers: the treaty on eliminating two kinds of nuclear weapons. Although these weapons account for only a few percentage points of the entire arsenal of weapons, let us bear in mind that the missiles that will be destroyed could have annihilated life worldwide. Second, the treaty proves that it is possible to achieve accord despite the obvious differences between the United States and the USSR. The treaty also amounts to the victory of the superior values such as respect for life in peace, for security, and greater confidence.

The summit meeting also met other important challenges of the present and the future. These challenges were subjects of the Gorbachev-Reagan talks and of Gorbachev's many meetings with members of U.S. Congress and representatives of U.S. science, culture, and journalism. What matters now is for the U.S. Senate to ratify this treaty. Let us hope that this will take place in the first quarter of 1988 and that the required majority of the senators will confirm what the two leaders agreed on, namely, that it is necessary to implement the treaty as an expression of a new attitude toward armaments, of the abandonment of the doctrines of confrontation and deterrence, and of the further promotion of the disarmament process. Another current challenge is to continue the process of dialogue, to achieve new accords on strategic arms reductions, to ban nuclear tests, and give up armaments in space, and to wholly ban chemical weapons.

We have the right to expect that the great powers will continue to pay attention to Europe, which, relieved of missiles, should become a subject and an agent of negotiations aimed at eliminating the remaining nuclear weapons and at reducing conventional weapons. No country between the Atlantic and the Urals should be left out of the opportunities created by Gorbachev and Reagan. Europe's disarmament activity should include debates on the proposals presented by the Warsaw Pact states, including Poland. I have in mind the Jaruzelski plan, which provides for extensive and variegated reductions in armaments and for simultaneous efforts to increase the means of confidence and joint security.

The Washington summit has prompted activities in favor of a Europe that is safer, readier to cooperate, and more militant in working for a better future. We should promote this activity at once, refusing to listen to the reactionary voices of the military circles. I am saying this because ominous calls could be heard on both sides of the Atlantic at a time when everyone was so pleased. For example, George Will and General John Gavin appealed for "strengthening NATO's conventional forces in order to make good the weakening of the nuclear shield" and to preserve the doctrine of "nuclear deterrent."

Let us not delude ourselves: The summit has not been able to change old habits and ideas all at once. The idea of trust and of a rational approach to the East and the USSR has not taken root everywhere. Nor has the challenge of the future been able to eliminate large-scale imperialism and extreme anticommunism.

However, optimism is the prevailing feature, one that has a future. One reason for this is that the summit tackled all the problems of utmost importance for the world. It discussed how to avoid the sources and opportunities for local conflicts and how to create conditions for the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, including social and humanitarian issues. These themes show that individual and local issues clearly depend on the nature of the relations between the two great powers. This dependence is what the world has to face, and that is why we can believe that the further dialogue and the increased trust and cooperation between the USSR and the United States will help to overcome misunderstanding anywhere else in the world.

The awareness that the great powers have to play a positive role vis-a-vis the world is another historic success of the Washington summit and constitutes a positive response to the challenge of the future.

Roundup of 5 Dec Sejm Speeches on Referendum

AU111449 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Dec 87 pp 4, 7

[Roundup of speeches from the floor of the 5 December Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Sejm Deputy Edward Szymanski (PZPR): The results of the referendum provide one fundamental conclusion—that the firm majority of Poles want to speak out and have spoken out on the subject of the socialist state's affairs, its future, and their own future, and that they wish to do so and are doing so by means of constitutional forms of political life. The national civic debate on our future and today's difficult times has not ruined the expectations of its initiators; in fact it is encouraging the consolidation of pro-reform attitudes.

The fact that almost 12 million voters supported the radical method of implementing the second stage of the reform is significant; there exists in broad circles of society an awareness of the need for profound reforms and a sober and mostly realistic view of the state of our economy.

We have no intention of ignoring the views of the 5 million voters who voted no or handed in blank ballot papers; it was their civic right to do so and to express their concern over public affairs. We do not ignore those who did not go to the polls, and we understand that they were guided by various reasons, circumstantial or political, but also by disbelief in the success of the program and a distrust of the authorities. We will try to take a closer look at their argumentation, polemize with them, and try to convince them. However, we say this clearly: there is no alternative to the reforms—there are merely alternative methods, speeds, and solutions. [passage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Tadeusz Szelachowski (ZSL): As a form of general consultation, the referendum has gained approval. Thus it has found a place for itself among the institutions of Polish public life.

The exceptionally severe requirements of the law on the referendum are a specific feature of this law. The Sejm took the decision on this matter, and as one of the few countries that have referendums, we have set the crossbeam high.

The results of the voting have provided no legal decision. There is a general conviction of the need for thorough reforms in Poland, but there have been differences in opinion as to how far and how fast the basic objectives of the reforms should be reached.

The results of the voting cannot hamper the reform, after all they are not aimed against it. For there is no support for the shortage of goods, the lines of people waiting for them, the shortage of apartments and lack of prospects in this sphere, or shortage of agricultural production resources, including the latest shortage of fuel. All this has to be overcome and solved because there is no question of being able to live with this burden and grow accustomed to it. Therefore it is essential to push through the reforms, which are a chance to overcome these troubles.

The ZSL Deputies Club expresses its desire to continue the reform and make changes to sociopolitical life, taking into account the results of the referendum. These results indicate the need for essential changes to the basic program, especially in the sphere of prices and incomes policy. The ZSL also attaches major importance to reform in agriculture and in rural areas. [passage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Marek Wieczorek (SD): There is already a clear answer to the question who won the referendum. The answer is democracy. On 29 November, the border between the casting of votes and voting was crossed [as published]. It transpires that the real turnout was far less than the proverbial 99 percent.

It was enough to grant complete freedom of whether or not to vote, which was the commendable practice during the referendum, and already the turnout began to reflect the real level of civic commitment regardless of the effects of the political fringe. We really must consider how to alter this situation, but before this can happen we must take a realistic look at the approaching people's council elections and a broader look at the entire mechanism of voting. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of the SD Deputies' Club, the premier's proposals on modifying the program of implementing the second stage of the reform are a step in the right direction. [passage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Kazimierz Secomski (nonparty): The time has come for intensive work all over the country and in all spheres of the economy in order to implement the reform constructively and systematically. Universal effort, from which no one can shirk for the sake of his own and national interests, is required.

It is necessary to inculcate the principle of collective work everywhere and strengthen the feeling of individual and collective responsibility for the performance of tasks and attainment of better results.

But this also requires greater supervision over the implementation and effectiveness of the reforms. There is no doubt that the most important tasks of the reform involve an increase in the efficiency of work, especially in enterprises; an increase in the productivity of work forces; and an improvement in the coordination of efforts by managements and workers' self-management bodies. [passage omitted] Sejm Deputy Edward Czykwin [nonparty, Christian Social Association]: The referendum has created a new quality in our political system. Most of all, it is a victory for democratic dialogue between the authorities and society, a confirmation of the authorities' consistency and determination in implementing socialist renewal. Finally, it has confirmed that citizens do have influence on affairs of state.

The fact that the result of the referendum is indecisive means that one should consider why people did not take part in it or voted no. Some members of society have no trust in the changes that have been announced, convinced that all that is certain are price rises and that a general improvement in life belongs to the distant future. And yet people, even those who did not vote, want a lively economy, better life, and more democracy and self-government. They want to feel masters of their own city, rural district, or factory. In those places where they really felt this way, they went to the polls with hope and confidence. This is an important indicator to be observed when deciding on how to modify the program of the second stage of the economic reform. The government must display its effectiveness in solving at least some of the problems besetting society, problems such as supplies of drugs or housing. It should see to it that there is suitable social care for those who really need it.

Christian ideals may be of help in the performance of national tasks. This requires stronger emphasis on the value of man and on the value of his views, culture, and mentality. It requires greater tolerance and a breakdown of barriers and divisions.

The deputies belonging to the Christian Social Association believe that the intentions and paths of action contained in the premier's speech should bring results, thus permitting broad sections of society to take part in implementing the reforms. [passage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Tadeusz Myslik (nonparty): The success of the reform depends mainly on the attitudes of society and on whether or not it will want to undertake the reform, employing the laws and programs passed by the Sejm. No radical reforms are possible without society's support.

In the referendum we have noted a serious difference in opinions and attitudes, ranging from a conscious and determined support for the reform, via passiveness, right up to reluctance and conservatism. What can we do to squeeze these pincers tight? Of course we must reconsider how fast and how far we should undertake certain measures, especially in the sphere of prices and incomes;

carefully work out a future social policy, make it clear to rural areas what their place in the reformed economy is, and lay down a bold housing construction program. [passage omitted]

Words alone are not enough to consolidate pro-reform attitudes, convince those who are unconvinced, and deprive the reform's opponents of their argumentation. There have been so many words that we are now threatened with an inflation of words, as dangerous as an inflation of money. We must create positive facts immediately—in the spheres of the economy, democracy, and cadres policy. Such facts will have the greatest strength of conviction.

Deputy Mikolaj Kozakiewicz (ZSL): The situation we are in since the referendum is somewhat of a paradox. Not until after the referendum is it clear that success has been turned into failure. And yet in this very hall many deputies, I myself included, warned against such a legal interpretation of referendum results.

The lesson to be learnt from the referendum extends much further than the referendum itself. Considering the entire packet of planned political and economic reforms contained in the documents preceding the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, one cannot set new mechanisms in motion with one hand and apply old brakes with the other.

Following the referendum, which was won de facto but lost de jure, a danger of renewed energy by the opponents of the reform emerges. Paradoxically, left-wing "fundamentalists" and right-wing oppositionists are shaking hands with each other and aiming toward a common goal. That is why I wish to lend my support at this rostrum to all those who are demanding an energetic implementation of the reform program. Full responsibility and legal sovereignty in this matter has returned to the Sejm. And the Sejm should accept this responsibility.

Many people have said that one-third of those who were eligible to vote but did not do so were deliberately acting against socialism. I have also seen on television people criticizing farmers for having shown little enthusiasm for the referendum, despite their traditionally large turnout at other voting. Even if this is true, such conduct should be explained not at important occasions like these, but during everyday life.

It is not manipulations by foreign propaganda that might have discouraged a part of society from taking part in the referendum, but our own incompetence and haste in settling matters that might have been small on a national scale but very large on an individual scale. [pasage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Jerzy Szmajdzinski (PZPR): [passage omitted] It is said that some young people did not vote. That was the case in many areas. We are not ignoring the reason. The problem of housing construction has hardly been touched upon in the implementation program, so it is difficult to expect enthusiasm from young people who are afraid that living costs may go up between 50 and 100 percent within the next year and who think it might be possible to earn more money for solid work in Polish emigre firms or the private sector than in the state sector. [passage omitted]

Sejm Deputy Zenon Zmudzinski (PZPR): There are no victors or vanquished in the referendum. But there is a society that is waiting for reforms. The deputies of the Bydgoszcz region which I represent are in favor of a full and rapid implementation of the second stage of the economic reform and the democratization of our lives.

Further Reportage on 29 Nov Referendum

Cardinal Glemp Interviewed

PM101253 Madrid YA in Spanish 22 Nov 87 p 11

[Interview with Polish Cardinal Jozef Glemp by Mercedes Gordon in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gordon] How do you view the political situation at the end of 1987?

[Glemp] I believe that the situation in Poland at the end of the year appears better than at its beginning, although it is true that people are nervous about this referendum, which confronts them with a difficult choice.

[Gordon] And how does the population view Jaruzelski's offer of perestroyka?

[Glemp] The program is realistic. It offers no immediate economic improvement, but it promises considerable liberalization in the socioeconomic field. That is where our expectations center. [answer ends]

Private Enterprise [subhead]

He remarked that if the promised guaranteeing of the establishment of private enterprise is correct, it will be no minor step. I told him that I found the Polish people saddened, to which he replied:

[Glemp] The deterioration in the prices situation and the approaching time of austerity are the cause of this sadness and almost social depression.

[Gordon] What is the church's stance on the reforms and the referendum?

[Glemp] The church relies on the experts in judging the reform. There is only a plan for economic reforms linked to the reform of social and political life. Nobody is putting forward a different plan or amendments to the proposed plan. Therefore the church in Poland teaches that Catholics must not remain passive, in accordance with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, and that a difficult reform is better than chaos.

[Gordon] Do you recall the episcopate's official document on these issues, in which the demand for society's participation in the reform was made clear?

[Glemp] You are well aware that economic development is not the work of just one group or of a decision by political circles, but is the work of participation by the social sectors. In order to carry out that work, the spontaneous initiatives of individuals and the independent associations must be harmonized with the efforts of state power. In the opinion of us bishops, the Council's guidelines are of particular importance and topicality when our country is in an exceptionally difficult and dangerous situation for its future socioeconomic situation. In order to surmount and control the situation we can rely socially on joint effort, which nobody must shirk.

[Gordon] What are the current difficulties of the church in Poland?

[Glemp] Similar to those of other churches; consumerism, selfishness, and alcoholism, which is the major means of escape for a society disillusioned with this situation and spends money on alcohol instead of saving it. One of our challenges is to arouse Christian hope. There is also the disillusionment of young people, who can find no way to fulfill themselves in current conditions and dream of seeking a livelihood outside the country.

[Gordon] What did Pope John Paul II's third visit bring to the people?

[Glemp] His presence and his speeches proved to the Polish people that they are united and that the church is the place of unification.

[Gordon] What is the state of church-state relations?

[Glemp] It can be said that they are now correct. In this crisis situation the state does not wish to make another enemy. For its part, the church knows that the good of the Polish people requires mutual understanding.

[Gordon] Will there soon be full relations between the state and the Holy See?

[Glemp] I could not tell you when, but from the progress of the talks under way, it is to be expected that they will be established. [passage omitted]

Walesa: 'Waste of Money'

PM101217 Madrid YA in Spanish
22 Nov 87 pp 10-11

[Interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Mercedes Gordon in Gdansk; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Gordon] How do you view the current Polish situation?

[Walesa] It is complex. If there is a desire to make changes in Poland's economy, there is a great deal to be done. The situation appears calm, but the difficulties are there.

[Gordon] What is your opinion of this referendum?

[Walesa] Do not forget that a referendum was demanded by Solidarity. But it must not be forgotten that this referendum must be considered closely. Of course, a referendum is something very different in the East from in the West.

[Gordon] What is your stance on 29 November?

[Walesa] We—the people in Solidarity—were and are in favor of a referendum. We were and are in favor of effecting reforms. What we cannot do is to pretend that we are effecting reforms or that we are holding a referendum. This referendum which the government is preparing is a parody. The first question in the referendum says: "Do you want to have a better situation in 2 years' time?" Who can say that he does not want to be better off in 2 years' time? Of course we want to be better off. The second question says: "Do you want to have more democracy?" Of course the Polish people want more democracy. And all this is costing the Polish people over Z1 billion. It is not worthwhile to spend that fortune in order to ask these questions. This referendum is a waste of money. For these reasons we are opposed to the referendum. Because we also wonder: What will the government do when it feels stronger? Nor do we know what the government will do when we are richer. It is a dangerous situation.

We Do Not Want Power [subhead]

[Gordon] What conditions do you require of a referendum?

[Walesa] For a referendum to be honest it must fulfill three conditions. First, society must have influence, or rather, participation concerning the questions' substance and their form. Second, society must have the opportunity to supervise the vote counting. Third, society must have participation in the actual holding of the referendum. If these minimum conditions do not exist, it is very difficult to believe in any referendum. That is why I emphasize that we are in favor of a referendum and of effecting reforms, but not in favor of this referendum and these reforms.

[Gordon] How do you reply to the accusations by the government, which presents you to the public as the sum of all ills for Poland and even as involved in the 1981 street disturbances, in order to undermine your prestige?

(In any event, the government accepts that Walesa has the support of 23 percent of the population; a figure which, being official, shows this leader's full strength. The question caused Walesa, who replied calmly and unabashed, to smile.)

[Walesa] Look, we have never wanted to take power, and we do not want it. What we want are reforms and structural changes. We want different structures, not power... That is why we have so many difficulties. It would be easy to enter the government. Proposals were put to us, but history teaches us that revolutions, however well they begin, go wrong when they attain power.

Different in East and West [subhead]

[Gordon] What is your opinion of the pluralist socialism which General Jaruzelski promises? [Walesa] Socialist pluralism? Pluralist socialism? If anybody talks about pluralist socialism, he does not have it. Here is an example of socialist pluralism: I am under surveillance by four police cars all the time. The government says that it is a favor to me. In my opinion, it is close surveillance. Socialist explanations are not true. But there is another reason. It is clear that socialism in the East and socialism in the West are different. I know socialism in the Western countries, and it is fairer. This socialism here has nothing to do with the other. I wish to emphasize this.

[Gordon] What is your opinion of the attitude of the episcopate, which many Poles would like to be more militant?

[Walesa] The church has a 2,000-year history. No political party has lasted so long. It is a mother and teacher. It has always fought in people's defense. Now it could be wise. That is why I learn—and I repeat learn—from the church.

[Gordon] What will the Polish people do in the face of the sharp price rises which are the main ingredient of the Polish perestroyka?

[Walesa] The Polish people have known how to endure a great deal over the centuries and at the same time to find their place. This is the Polish miracle. It is well-known that we earn 10,000 and spend 20,000. This is another miracle. It is time which has made us so; we have managed for centuries and we are managing today, too. I must say one thing: That there is no hunger or danger of dying of hunger in Poland, but we are in danger of impoverishment. We cannot have carpets and we are going to have just one pair of shoes in order to go out and work.

Why have two suits if one is enough? Why have several television programs if one, or rather, none is enough? The danger is that our living standard will fall even further, but we will live, we will always live. But it is very sad for a country with 40 million people in the center of Europe, which is good enough to have the West's standard of culture, civilization, and prosperity and which in any event would like to achieve it, to find itself blocked, for us not to be allowed to develop, for all our initiatives to be cut short.

Three Demands [subhead]

[Gordon] How do view your role in Poland's history?

[Walesa] Every generation has something to accomplish in its fatherland's life. Ours was to set up Solidarity and to eliminate everything bad that communism has brought us, while turning to account the good, however little.

[Gordon] With what demands?

[Walesa] We have three demands for people in Poland—pluralism in the economy, pluralism in the social sphere, and pluralism in the political area. With this threefold pluralism we wish to rebuild and reform. And we want it within what is feasible and within the limits; but we want the pluralism which you have in the West.

Wozniak Views Reform, CEMA Relations

AU131651 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 18 Nov 87 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Igor Lopatynski: "To Be Prominent in Effectiveness"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Lopatynski] The fifth plenum ended the political discussion about the theses on the second stage of economic reform and expressed its full support for the government package of new principles of the functioning of the economy. What should be done to exploit this opportunity for rapidly reconstructing the economy in order to raise its effectiveness?

[Wozniak] The executive program for the second stage of the economic reform contains many proposals on what should be done to exploit this opportunity in order to develop one's enterprising spirit, to increase the independence of economic units, to create a uniform market through price, income, legal, and organizational measures, and to make the entire economic system flexible.

The fact that most our citizens take a personal interest in our projects and pledge their commitment to them guarantees that our words will not remain just words. Our projects create real conditions for improving one's own material situation, for relieving our households of many hardships, and for streamlining work organization. But society must approve of our plans to eliminate inefficient enterprises, to change prices and wages, and to stimulate the enterprising spirit, which helps some people to fare better than other people.

We must be aware of the fact that some people will fare better and some worse and we should do all we can to ensure that those who fare better do so because they are known for fighting waste and for ensuring that their enterprises are economically effective. If we do not change our ways, even those who work effectively will not be aware of this because their conditions will not improve. That is why only militancy, consistent performance, and success in the struggle between the new and the old can enable us to fully exploit the opportunities afforded by radicalization of economic reform.

[Lopatynski] In December 1986 the third plenum tightened the definition of the basic tasks of the second stage of reform, including the balancing of the economy by eliminating inflationary mechanisms, stimulating workers' militancy and initiative, making qualitative changes, closely relating wages to actual work, accelerating the restructuring of the economy, and promoting export. Why have we not managed to achieve sufficient progress in these tasks?

[Wozniak] We should take a broader look at this issue. Because our reform is not an isolated action, but a long-term process we have to seek to achieve our aims in stages. Transforming the system of economic performance helps to create conditions for the further development of production forces in order to meet people's expectations and aspirations. While strengthening the strategic role of the central plan, we continue to transform social relations in production in such a way as to stimulate enterprises and people and their creative potentials. We should be clearly aware of the fact that changes in the conditions of the enterprises' performance were a revolution.

As of 1 January 1982 we suddenly abandoned limits; detailed directives of the plan; investment, wage, and other decisions; production commands; and several hundred various indexes and decrees. People often forget that enterprises, the economy, the center, and, above all, people had to adapt themselves to these decisions. Enterprises (people) wanted to be independent, but independence overwhelmed many of them during the first stage. In addition, this took place under chaotic cooperation and production conditions created by the 1980-81 events.

Enterprises became independent and self-financing and work forces became self-managing as of 1982. Daily practice has produced genuine results and great possibilities as well as weaknesses of this socioeconomic mechanism, which, under extremely difficult conditions marked by shortages of energy and materials and by imports reduced by 40 percent, has proved to be very productive. We have been able to heave the economy out of its deep crisis, chaos, and disarray and to promote its regular development. Our adverse balance of trade became positive within a short time. Productivity continues to increase, and the energy- and material-intensiveness of the economy continues to decrease.

Still, we are well aware of the weaknesses you have stressed. We are doing our best to overcome them and we will do more than that in the second stage of economic reform.

We should not reduce the importance of the third plenum to just providing inspiration for qualitative changes in the economy such as accelerating the process of restructuring, increasing export production, curbing inflation, and so on. The fact is that worthwhile results were achieved last year in production and in restoring the previous level of the economy. The third plenum played a crucial role in preparing the executive program for the second stage of economic reform.

The third plenum defined the main principles of the second stage of economic reform and developed this important item of the 10th party congress' economic strategy. Briefly, the 10th congress said what to do and the third plenum said who is to do it and how and when it should be done.

[Lopatynski] This means that the second stage signifies the acceleration of the reform.

[Wozniak] That plenum stated that the most profound economic meaning of the second stage is increasing the effectiveness of the reform's mechanisms, creating conditions for the consistent application of these mechanisms, and strengthening the two unchangeable pillars of the reform: improvements in the quality of central planning and the stimulation of the enterprising and innovating spirit of independent and self-managing enterprises. The plenum emphasized that feasible parameters, the correct economic accounting, and balanced supplies, investments, and consumption are the main economic conditions for stimulating the reform and the basic factors in increasing the effectiveness of economic mechanisms and motivational systems and in changing one's attitudes toward work. They also are instrumental in improving living conditions.

The second stage of economic reform was presented as a socially constructive and attractive program. Richer by experience, we can now say that its realization can benefit all households by increasing the availability of goods without any need to ration them, by eliminating hardships in buying goods and by ensuring a balanced market. It can also benefit all enterprises by creating stable conditions for development and for better meeting the needs of workers, and the entire economy by enabling it to better promote its development and to catch up with world progress.

The formula "something for something" was also presented at the third plenum. This formula means that the rate and ways of curing our economy must be adjusted to

the necessary economic rigors, increased demands, self-discipline, and responsibility. This is the problem we are now facing when discussing the questions submitted by the Sejm for the national referendum and the choice we have to make.

[Lopatynski] The reform of the center continues to create much interest. The Sejm-approved changes amount to more than just a simple reduction of the number of ministries and central institutions. These changes are supposed to create conditions for rationally running the economy. New powers go hand in hand with new responsibilities. Any comment?

[Wozniak] During a recent Sejm debate I said that without radically changing the entire system of the economy and social life the reform will not succeed and will not improve the quality of any sector of the economy. The effectively performing center, enterprises that are self-managing, self-financing, and self-reliable, the universal socialist enterprising spirit, socialized planning, correct structural changes in the economy, and efficient economic mechanisms are interdependent factors which help each other. However, the weakness of any one of them may cause painful losses to all.

Radical reductions in the number of ministries and central offices and in their staffs represent a significant but not fundamental feature of the reform of the center.

What matters is the changed performance of the center to suit the new logic of economic management. To put it simply, the center will no longer directly "administer" the current performance of individual enterprises and other units, but will strengthen its powers of developing economic policy and of effectively influencing basic economic processes through appropriate legal, economic, fiscal, and organizational instruments.

The departure from the branch structure of the center will make it possible to resist branch pressure and parochialism. The responsibilities and powers of ministers and economic units will be defined more closely. This new program should facilitate the realization of uniform policy vis-a-vis all units, enterprises, cooperatives, and private companies and should safeguard general economic interests. The point is to change the performance style of the center, to enable economic ministries to implement uniform economic policy, to raise their responsibilities, and to ensure that employees are highly productive and competent. This poses exacting demands for managing cadres and employees in ministries and central offices and makes necessary the recruitment of effective cadres and employees.

The reform of the center is an important element of accelerating organizational progress in all fields of public life in line with the 10th congress directives. The reform constitutes a significant incentive to speed up the reconstruction of organizational structures in production, trade, and service enterprises, in public service institutions, local administrative units, and in social organizations.

[Lopatynskii] The new price-income policy, whose acceptance will determine the support for the reform, is a sensitive issue. Many people think that this policy will add to family budget burdens. Others say that raising prices as well as incomes will actually change nothing. Could you explain this issue? In particular, could you describe the influence of prices on production effectiveness, economic balance, and departure from subsidies?

[Wozniak] I would like to answer this question in detail. The reform has created many instruments and mechanisms, including legal-organizational, economic, and economic-fiscal ones in the area of investments, scientific-technological progress, foreign trade, the budget, credits, taxation, and so on.

First group of economic instruments that include prices also deal with profit, custom duties, taxation, subsidies, concessions, bank loans, and hard currency rates, which means that prices are one of many instruments that make it possible to exert appropriate influence on production, the market and its balance, and living standards.

Second, the necessity to restore the balance of the market involves many factors such as the flow of goods and services, the development of incomes, and, finally, the development of prices. Prices are not the primary factor in restoring balance, but they are treated on a par with the previous two factors.

Third, the second stage of the reform provides for countering the trends toward price hikes primarily by exploiting new sources of goods and services such as the development of small-scale industries, joint companies, cooperatives, and trades. Other measures include the elimination of monopolies, structural changes in the economy through developing and improving export and the flow of goods to market places, and the observance of the principle that economic units should look after their own finances and development. We want to create strong incentives for technological progress and original production and to induce economic units to increase their economic efficiency by relating their profits to their actual production and by other measures. We will also make efforts to curb inflation by curbing budget expenditures, by better exploiting loans, especially investment loans, and by encouraging thrift.

If we look at our price-income policy in this way, we can say that it is wrong to assert that the second stage of the reform "will be merely to increase prices."

The basic goal of the price-income reform is to:

—create (restore) normal economic conditions throughout the national economy;

—enable enterprises to use correct economic accounting procedures;

—eliminate obstacles and distortions in the path to high economic efficiency;

—provide conditions for initiative and enterprise and ensure higher earnings for enterprises, groups of workers, and individual workers for effective performance.

To do this we have to eliminate or at least to greatly curb subsidies for the production of capital equipment and consumer goods and to crucially change the structure of prices in order to ensure a free flow of production equipment to the most effective enterprises for the most effective production projects. A correct ratio of, say, the prices of coal to other raw materials is of special importance, because prices that are not related to costs distort the economic accounting and hinder thrift, without which progress is impossible. Everywhere in the world thrifty consumption of raw materials is being preferred to their increased production. This is cheaper and benefits the natural environment. Incorrect coal prices help to falsify the cost accounting, to properly evaluate the effectiveness of, say, export, and so on. Thrift and crucially reduced rationing of goods should help us to change the structure of the economy in favor of effectiveness and to more speedily restore the balance of the market, the flow of materials, investments, and the budget. Changed principles of price-income policy makes this possible. Family budgets will not be threatened by price hikes but by the extent to which these hikes are compensated by society's increased incomes. That is why price hikes on basic foodstuffs, rents, fuels, and energy will be compensated by supplements to wages, pensions, and other benefits and the price hikes of other commodities will be compensated by higher wages. In addition, we will revalue pensions, the "old pension fund," and people's savings. Increased costs of farm production and rural living will be compensated by matching increases in farm produce procurement prices. Price hikes on alcohol and cigarettes will not be compensated for very good social reasons. Although changes in the structure and level of prices will be compensated to a high degree by increased wages and other expedients, they will help to accelerate our economic development by improvements in economic mechanisms and by increasing economic effectiveness. There is no doubt that the process of balancing the economy could be faster if the compensations for price hikes were lower, but this might lower people's work morale. Work morale is important because we want people's ingenuity to play a crucial role in improving economic mechanisms. That is why we also want to rapidly reduce the inflation rate to a single digit in 1990. [Lopatynski] Not long ago you wrote in NOWEDROGI that all socialist countries have to face the challenge of intensifying their economies and accelerating their development. How do you evaluate the 43d CEMA session in this connection? How has the session affected our economy?

[Wozniak] The process of changes in the economic management in all socialist countries is continuing. It was bound to affect the mutual relations and economic integration within CEMA. The 43d CEMA session in Moscow on 13-14 April 1987 discussed problems and tasks involved in changing multilateral cooperation, socialist economic integration, and CEMA activities. The unanimous resolution adopted in this connection was a result of CEMA work sponsored by the 1984 summit economic meeting and by the working meeting of the party leaderships in November 1986. The basic problems of the CEMA transformation were also discussed by the Sofia meeting of the Central Committee secretaries of the CEMA countries on 1-2 September of this year.

In line with the resolution of the 43d session, the transformation of the CEMA integration mechanism and activities will be effected on three main planes—planning, the economic-fiscal mechanism, and organization. This transformation seeks to establish more effective and clear economic rules of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. This was the main line of integration policy, but every country had the right to present its own proposals.

The 43d session's specific decisions include the resolution on the three-tiered coordination of plans, that is, coordination at the government; ministry; and enterprise, industrial association, and scientific institute level. A joint concept of the international socialist division of labor for 1991-2005 will be worked out. This concept, which will present strategic goals of the dynamic development of cooperation in the main areas, will be completed in the first quarter of 1988 and will be submitted to the 44th CEMA session. At this session, which will be held in 1988, proposals will be presented on a phased transformation of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration and on the measures in various countries to improve this mechanism. It was agreed that in 1987-88 improvements will be carried out in the methods of fixing prices and that contract prices will be determined for mutual trade in 1991-95. Various proposals have been submitted in this connection beginning with preserving the present 5-year base of prices through the current base of world prices. Poland and Hungary are in favor of the latter. Having analyzed the CEMA tasks and structure, the 43d session decided to eliminate 19 CEMA bodies and to create six new bodies. Other proposals in this connection will be examined by the 44th session. The 43d session examined many other problems, including comprehensive programs for the European CEMA countries' comprehensive cooperation with Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia, and made many new decisions to improve currency and fiscal cooperation, credit activities, and legal foundations of cooperation.

Let me stress that the meeting of the premiers outside of the session was rather critical of the present implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific-technological progress through the year 2000 and stressed the need to make this implementation more effective and rapid.

Although the results of the 43d session do not amount to a radical transformation of the cooperation mechanism, they are a good beginning of transforming and streamlining CEMA activities.

In this connection I would like to stress that most of Polish proposals were incorporated in the session's resolution. At all stages of preparations for the session we followed the proposals submitted by W. Jaruzelski at the November meeting in 1986. These proposals seek to create an effective economic mechanism that is able to ensure the further development of integration, in which our country is vitally interested. The following Polish proposals were included in the resolution:

—coordinating long-term economic policy;

—expanding direct cooperation between enterprises, combines, and scientific institutes;

—accelerating the implementation of the comprehensive program for scientific-technological progress and exploiting the results of research in production;

—promoting the efforts of the countries concerned to create a CEMA integrated socialist market and establishing a free trade zone and, later on, a customs union;

—adopting the principle that if countries are ready to solve problems they can do this without waiting for other partners;

—establishing an effective system of implementing and controlling decisions made by CEMA bodies;

—surveying the possibility of setting up the International Bank of Enterprises, which would finance economic units, enterprises, and scientific institutes that engage in direct cooperation;

—establishing the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation on the Protection of the Natural Environment.

In addition, a record was made of Polish proposals concerning the stages during which improvement should be made in currency and fiscal arrangements, on the establishment of a partial convertibility of the transfer ruble, and on international arbitration.

Together with other partners we are in favor of coordinating with the countries concerned the participation in solving issues such as the gradual development of conditions for a free flow of goods, services, and other production elements from country to country and for an eventual establishment of an integrated market. This coordination also applies to the proposal to devise by the end of this year the measures aimed at allowing national currencies to be mutually interchangeable or changed into the transfer ruble when settling the accounts concerning the goods and services traded through direct links, joint enterprises, and the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technological Progress of CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000.

The transformation of CEMA's integration mechanisms is closely connected with the policy of the second stage of the economic reform and runs together with the changes in the USSR and other socialist countries. Their common denominator is to increase the effectiveness of economic management and cooperation. The dependence is mutual: The transformation of CEMA will make a significant impact on mutual cooperation, will favor integration processes, and, consequently, will boost the effectiveness of internal economic mechanisms in individual countries. As you can see, these changes support one another. The socialist community countries seek to jointly achieve higher efficiency and effectiveness of performance, because this is the path to increasing the economic potential, improving living conditions, and boosting the attractiveness of the forces of socialism in the world.

Leaders' Public Appearances 2-7 Dec

AU131507 [Editorial report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 3 through 8 December reports the following public appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received on 3 December representatives of socialist bloc associations for friendship with the Soviet Union attending a conference in Warsaw. (4 Dec, p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Lee Dlugin, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, on 3 December. (4 Dec, p 7)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Jozef Wiejacz, PPR ambassador in Italy, on 3 December. (4 Dec, p 7) He also chaired a meeting of the PPR Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission on 5 December. (7 Dec, p 4)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio for special missions, on 5 December. (7 Dec, p 4)

Bucharest Radio Reports East Berlin Summit
AU121337 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries was held in Berlin. During the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, briefed the participants on his visit to the United States and on the results of the talks he held with President Ronald Reagan.

Dissidents Arrested Amid 'Fresh Unrest'
AU131447 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Text] Paris, Dec 13 (AFP)—Several Romanian dissidents who criticised the regime in a recent French television programme have been arrested amid fresh unrest since riots in the Romanian city of Brasov a month ago, the League for the Defence of Human Rights in Romania said here Sunday.

The League said staggered strikes were reported in Brasov's Steagul Rosu (Red Flag) vehicle plant where the November 15 riots began as well as at the city's Tractorul factory.

The Paris-based human-rights movement said large numbers of people had been arrested in Brasov after the riots by workers protesting chronic food shortages and wage cuts. Two militiamen were killed in what turned into the biggest challenge to the rule of President Nicolae Ceausescu in a decade.

The League said demonstrators had tried last week to set fire to the statue of Lenin opposite the radio and television headquarters in Bucharest. It said tyres were piled up around the statue and set alight.

On Saturday, the League said a 60-year-old teacher, Doina Cornea had been arrested three weeks ago at Cluj in Transylvania.

She had taken part in a television interview, screened on the French network Antenne-2 on December 10, in which she denounced what she called the "reign of fear" imposed by the authorities and a series of unexplained "disappearances" of certain people.

Her son, Leontin Iuhas, 31 an engineer, was also arrested.

On Sunday, the League said Radu Filipescu, a 32-year old electronics engineer, who took part in the same programme, had been arrested on Saturday morning in Bucharest and his home had been searched.

The League said it was without news of a third person who spoke in the French programme, Mariana Celac-Botez whose husband Mihai is now visiting the United States. The League said Mrs. Botez's phone had been cut for several weeks.

Mr. Filipescu was sentenced in September 1983 to 10 years' imprisonment for distributing leaflets critical of the regime. He was released in 1986.

On November 9, the League said he had written to magistrates to protest at the constant surveillance exercised against him. He also said he would take part in a weekly vote-with-your-feet "referendum" for or against the regime called by opposition leaflets distributed lately in Bucharest.

The leaflets called on those against the regime to walk each Friday on Piata Uniriii and Piata Sfinta Vineri and for those in favour to walk the same day on Victory for Socialism Boulevard.

The League said the boulevard was now deserted each Friday.

Vienna Paper Reports Riots in Bucharest
AU141056 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 14 Dec 87
p 3

[Text] Bucharest—Scarce food and drastic energy savings measures imposed by the Ceausescu regime have now again brought the Romanians' frustration and rage to a boil.

Two weeks ago, rioting workers burned the town hall in Brasov and killed two policemen. This weekend, a fire attack was carried out in the capital city of Bucharest. Unknown perpetrators poured gasoline on car tires at the Lenin monument and set them on fire. Because of the highly explosive situation in the country, party chief Ceausescu had canceled his participation in the Warsaw Pact summit in East Berlin.

Police patrols in Bucharest and in the provincial capitals have been strengthened; Western diplomats have reported on arrests and interrogation of opposition members.

Political Executive Committee Meets 11 Dec

Chaired by Ceausescu
AU112043 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2027 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/12/1987—A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held on Friday, December 11 under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the meeting, the Executive Political Committee analysed the way in which provisions under the plan for December were being fulfilled and agreed that the government, the ministries, the industrial central departments, the enterprises and all working people take firm steps to provide for the integral implementation of plan provisions and properly fulfil the plan for December and for the year as a whole.

The party general secretary expressed his belief that the working people in industry, agriculture and all sectors of activity would do their utmost to welcome the RCP National Conference and the 40th anniversary of the Republic with further significant accomplishments in Romania's economic and social development, in the implementation of the Thirteenth Congress resolutions.

During the meeting, the party general secretary suggested that starting 1987 50 per cent of the profit-sharing fund should go to the working people throughout the month of December, with the rest—that is 50 per cent—to be paid in the first half of the next year after the balance sheet had been drawn.

So, in December this year, the 50 per cent of the profit sharing will be paid as follows:

—working people with an up to 2,500 lei salary will receive 15 per cent of the monthly payment fund,

—working people with wages between 2,500 and 3,500 lei will be given 12 per cent of the monthly payment fund,

—working people paid over 3,500 lei will receive 10 per cent of the monthly payment fund.

The profit sharing fund and the remainder in 1987 will be calculated in the first half of next year after the balance sheet has been drawn.

The party general secretary's proposal was unanimously approved by the Executive Political Committee.

Next, the Executive Political Committee examined the stage of preparations for the national conference of the party and took adequate measures.

Routine questions of the party and state activity were also solved during the meeting.

Approves Profit-Sharing Fund

AU131512 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1252 GMT
13 Dec 87

["An Incentive For a Higher Economic Efficiency"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/12/19—The measure approved by the latest meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP that, starting this year, 50 per cent of the profit-sharing fund should be paid to the working people in the month of December with the remaining 50 per cent to be paid in the first half of the next year, after the balance sheet had been drawn, is a strong incentive for a growing economic efficiency in all sectors of the Romanian economy.

The possibility to pay these sums proves the strength of the Romanian economy, the realism and justness of the Romanian party and state policy of ensuring a continuous rise in the working people's living standard in step with the development of the production forces and the growth of the national income. The self-management, self-administration and self-financing principles, the whole economic-financial mechanism in Romania aim at stimulating the working people to skillfully use the technical and material means to increase production and economic efficiency. The recent measure is intended to increase production, to further cut production spending, the material one in particular, to make more export contracts and thus to increase the working people's profit-sharing fund.

Ceausescu Chairs RCP CC Plenary Session 13 Dec

AU131448 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1352 GMT
13 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/12/1987—Under the chairmanship of the Romanian Communist Party's general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party met in plenum on Sunday, December 13.

The plenum unanimously approved the documents to be put before the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party for debate over December 14-16, 1987:

—On the state of growth of the forces of production, of the socialist society in general, of the production and social relations, of revolutionary worker democracy, of management improvement on the basis of the self-management and self-financing principles of improving and furthering the revolutionary process in the new phase of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and of Romania's advance to communism.

—On the fulfilment of the thirteenth congress resolutions and of the party programme of economic and social development of Romania, of the programmes providing for a better organization of production and its modernization, for the observance of economic and financial norms and for a higher economic efficiency in all areas.

—On the balanced proportional economic and social growth of all the zones of the country, the implementation of the physical planning programme, the continual thriving of the localities of the country, the improvement of the general living standard, material as well as spiritual.

The orientations and targets in the documents to be submitted for debate in the great forum of Romanian Communists outline the directions of actions to take to a higher stage the entire socio-economic activity in Romania, secure the country's many-sided progress, a new quality of life and work for the whole people, in accordance with the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the RCP and the party program provisions.

Paper Reports on Growing Leading Role of RCP

AU121721 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1636 GMT
12 Dec 87

["SCINTEIA on the Growing RCP Role as Leader"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/12/1987—An article in the Bucharest newspaper SCINTEIA of December 12 entitled "The Party—the Clear-Sighted Strategist of Socialist Construction" shows among other things that the time since the Ninth Romanian Communist Party Congress has been a time of change in Romania.

The RCP has proved out a force that put above all the vital interests of the country—social freedom, national independence and sovereignty, many-sided progress.

This not only emphasises the historic legitimacy of the party's leading role but also carries a deeper meaning, being a mandate that the nation, all its classes and segments, gave to the communists to take care of its destinies.

The Romanian Communist Party with its more than 3.6 million members is a party of the masses today. That being so, it can no longer be regarded or defined as a "working-class vanguard detachment." It is the center of the nation, of society, and it does not lead in the name of the working class, but with the working class and its natural allies—the farmers and the intellectuals. In fact, with all working people, with the whole nation. The RCP is a major political organism that sets the orientations for a permanent renewal and improvement of Romanian society, works from within society, from within state and economic institutions, and mass and public organizations, integrating its activity with that of the whole nation whose constructive effort it leads."

Especially after the Ninth Congress, the party assumed the mission not only to map the general lines for economic and social development but also to study the future and work out a programme of great perspective for the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's passage to communism, to stimulate the general effort and use the benefit of collective thinking in order to reach a high development level, to continuingly improve a better type of democracy that is real, effective and viable, to promote the advancement of education and science like never before, to build and re-build a truly humanistic culture rooted in the everyday life of people and accessible to them, to build a new system of international relations and a new moral civilization based on respect for the individual and human dignity and, by giving a just solution to the national question, to build new relations, friendship, brotherhood and mutual respect among all the citizens of the country whatever their nationality.

Now on the eve of the national conference when we look back to the way we have gone since the Thirteenth RCP Congress, we must say that the party's leadership of society was put under the auspices of science, of realism and lucid judgment it pursued a continuing improvement of socialist democracy, an unbiased analysis of facts, a revival of the revolutionary spirit—in short a new quality of life and work, the article winds up.

Daily Examines County Party Conferences

AU131553 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 29 November on page 3, on 1 December on page 2, on 2 December on page 3, on 6 December on pages 2 and 3, and on 8 December on pages 2 and 3 carries 41 reports ranging from 1,000 to 1,300 words on the proceedings of the "extraordinary RCP committee conferences" held in each of Romania's 40 counties and at the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee—attended by a full or candidate member of the PEC or an RCP Central Committee secretary—in preparation for the RCP National Conference, which opens on 14 December in Bucharest.

The reports on the conferences held at the county party committees follow the same pattern. At the beginning, each report notes the senior party official who attended and addressed the meeting conveying "warm, comradely and revolutionary greetings to all the participants" in the meeting "on behalf of the RCP leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu." A short account of the activity carried out by the "communists and working people" in the respective county reported by the first secretary of the county party committee follows. Ion Traian Stefanescu is mentioned in SCINTEIA of 2 December as first secretary of Salaj County RCP Committee and Ion Fratila as first secretary of Vaslui county RCP Committee, accounting for the achievements of their counties, while SCINTEIA of 8 December notes Ion Traian Stefanescu as first secretary of Dolj County RCP Committee and Ion Fratila as first secretary of Prahova County RCP Committee reading the report on the performance of their counties. These two officials were appointed as heads of the Dolj and respectively of Prahova counties on 27 November.

Speeches by various heads of local enterprises and industrial, agricultural, educational, and cultural units, who "referred to the measures taken" to fulfill the tasks incumbent upon them in their particular field of activity are also included in the reports. The speakers "examined in a critical and self-critical way" the activity carried out in their units "to implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions."

The reports conclude with the short summary of the cables the participants in the meetings addressed to "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" and to "Comrade Elena Ceausescu" assuring the party of their "full support with the foreign and domestic policy promoted by our party and state" and of their "determination to mobilize all our efforts to contribute to the implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decision."

Commentary on U.S.-USSR Signing of INF Treaty

BORBA Comment

AU111354 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 87 p 2

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "To Trust and To Verify"]

[Text] In sparse, but well-chosen words, on the occasion of the signing in Washington of the agreement eliminating a group of nuclear weapons, Gorbachev probably hit on one of the essential preoccupations of the great majority of mankind, the majority that has always been distinguishable because of its humanism and love of peace, but also because of its uneasiness. "The risk of a nuclear catastrophe," the Soviet leader said, "unfortunately continues at present. We nevertheless believe in man's ability to save himself from the danger of self-destruction."

Under such circumstances, especially before the eyes and ears of the widest world public, it is very important what one says and and how one conducts himself, and in this way the two leaders have once again shown themselves to be skilled communicators. Of course, they did not mention everything that drives them and what they are striving for, and they will not lose anything if we say that they also did not do everything, not even the essential things, that the peace-loving public expects of them in the field of disarmament and elsewhere.

If the signed agreement is only the first proper step in this direction, Reagan and Gorbachev will be right when they invoke history with so much self-confidence—not to say conceit, to which leaders of big countries are much more inclined than others—either when they say that history "has given them a task" or when they assert that they "create" history.

The act itself has been historic, above all because it is the first time in this post-war nuclear era that the two superpowers are by agreement renouncing a group of nuclear weapons and at the same time submitting themselves to mutual control. However, it will be much more significant for history that the two superpowers, together with other world factors, are creating conditions and showing goodwill for the elimination of other weapons, as well as in solving accumulated, very grave international problems that are equally essential for the preservation of world peace.

It seems that the congratulations by the SFRY Presidency to Gorbachev and Reagan express the essential gist when conveying the conviction that the agreement will mark the beginning of a new period of negotiations on the most important world problems. Why now add our conviction, which is shared by all the nonaligned countries, that all the countries should participate in this equally, in the general interest of world peace and further progress? Is it not the right moment to point out that the Washington agreement should not lull to sleep or demobilize all those democratic, peace-loving, and progressive forces that have been pushing both disarmament and burning international issues to the forefront? The agreement will, in fact, be historic to the extent that all the factors in international life will be encouraged to carry out new efforts in the direction of strengthening a lasting peace and of the democratization of international relations.

Under such circumstances, which restore faith and hope in the victory of reason as well as in the goodwill of those who bear greatest responsibility for the preservation of peace, various reservations and doubts are being avoided, not so much as regards the realization of the agreement, whose failure would be catastrophic, but as regards the difficulties that are real and that will accompany further disarmament talks. Perhaps it is much more important to point out the personal contribution by Reagan and Gorbachev to this agreement in hardly enviable international circumstances and under the heavy legacy of all sorts of confrontations, which required much statesmanlike integrity and personal courage and goodwill.

It is another question to what extent this is a program of peace as well as detente, without which it will be very difficult to attain further successes in disarmament and in other fields. There is no proper answer yet to the question whether confrontation has been left behind, or whether it has only been reduced, and whether it is realistic to expect a return to detente, for many factors that influence the foreign policy of the superpowers are unknown. Anyway, it is not difficult to notice a certain reserve of the two leaders about everything beyond the agreement; they have tried to make up for this reserve by an abundance of pleasantries regarding either the two persons or the nations they represent.

It is no accident that Reagan again repeated the well-known Russian proverb, "trust but verify." It seems we are entering the times when we must trust, but also verify everything that the superpowers will do in the field of disarmament and elsewhere.

U.S. Fails 'Test of Glasnost'

LD111344 Belgrade TANJUG In English 1302 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington, December 11 (TANJUG)—The decision of the U.S. not to make public all the details concerning the number and locations of missiles that will be eliminated on the basis of the recently signed U.S.-Soviet treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has given the impression that the U.S. has on this occasion failed the test of glasnost, that is, openness.

The memorandum on the treaty, as this part of the treaty is called, was not published since revealing the places of manufacture and the localities of the launching pads might result in terrorist attacks on the installations.

The U.S. side has resorted to such a step at the request of the Pentagon, it has been claimed. This, however, surprised not only the Soviet side which was ready to publish the treaty in its entirety, but also U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who, together with U.S. negotiator Maynard Glitman protested the U.S. decision.

The U.S. public has not yet been informed how many missiles each side has to destroy, the types of missiles to be eliminated and the places of their deployment, since these facts are also included in the memorandum which will allegedly be published shortly. For this reason, the numbers currently mentioned vary by several scores on either side.

The WASHINGTON POST recently published facts which it claims are true and according to which the U.S. now has several tens of missiles more than previously reported, and the Soviet Union several tens of missiles less than the U.S. had estimated.

According to the WASHINGTON POST, the U.S. has installations for the production or testing of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles at 11 localities in nine U.S. cities which the Soviet verification committees will have the right to inspect over the next 13 years.

As far as the U.S. verification teams are concerned, they will have to inspect over 79 localities in the Soviet Union and on the territories of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

Sundic Notes Success

LD121052 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] After the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, the general feeling is that the third meeting of the leaders of the two superpowers lived up to expectations. Here is Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] The 3-day meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington was, in every respect, successful. With the signing of the missile agreement, the two superpowers entered a new phase in their relations, not only in the direction of seeking fresh breakthroughs in the area of disarmament, but also in the area of promoting bilateral relations and of solving crisis points in the world. In other words, the dialogue in Washington encompassed all issues of joint interest, even those which were difficult for one side or the other, such as Afghanistan, human rights, the situation in Central America, and so on.

In comparison with the two previous meetings between the two leaders, this third one was the most substantive and in its importance the most far-reaching. The differences that arose in the course of the talks, when sharp words were also spoken, did not cloud the horizon for the two leaders with regard to proceeding in their search for more disarmament agreements. Reagan and Gorbachev agreed that experts from the two countries should speed up the dialogue on the reduction and limitation of strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent in the hope that an agreement on this can be reached by the time of Reagan's return visit to Moscow in the first half of next year. The agreement already signed on medium- and short-range missiles will be of great help to both sides in recording an appropriate breakthrough in this area as well as in the area of limitation and ban on the production of chemical weapons.

In the communique, there is avoidance of everything which could have a negative effect on the further course of Soviet-U.S. negotiations, such as the ABM agreement of 1972 and Star Wars. On both these matters, the two superpowers will continue to argue and it is still not known what the final outcome of all this will be. However, the mere fact that this was passed over in the joint communique points to the conclusion that neither the ABM agreement nor Reagan's Star Wars will have a critical effect on the negotiating process of the two superpowers, and particularly not on the efforts to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent.

Observers have noticed that the greatest differences during the 3-day meeting of Reagan and Gorbachev were manifest in the talks on regional problems. This is normal, because it is a question of problems where the interests of the United States and USSR cross or conflict, and this probably will not be so easily overcome. In the case of Afghanistan, for example, Gorbachev told the U.S. President that the fate of the withdrawal of troops from that country does not depend merely on Soviet good will but also equally on others. This, naturally, did not please the Americans, but at the same time they do not want to close the doors to the essential talks with Moscow because of Afghanistan, particularly not after the positive outcome of the talks on medium- and short-range missiles, and the enviable success of the third summit that took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and better understanding than any meeting of U.S. and Soviet leaders since the war.

Of course, even on this occasion we should not forget the full complexity of Soviet-U.S. relations and the vast differences that separate them at the level of ideology and politics. However, what is positive and made its imprint on the third meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev is the fact that with both of them this time the recognition prevailed of the need for peaceful coexistence and joint cooperation in efforts to prevent the outbreak of another warn, and this is sufficient for our conclusion stated at the beginning, that the meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev was successful in every respect.

Belgrade Radio Views Summit

AU132123 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Dec 87

[Slobodan Kovacevic commentary on the Washington summit from "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] As almost all media have noted, U.S. President Ronald Reagan and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev managed to hold their meeting and to bring it to an end in a positive atmosphere. It was not only because real progress has been made in comparison with the state of affairs before the summit, but primarily because, fortunately, they managed to avoid the central point of disagreement thus far—the question of testing defensive weapons in space. Having learned, it seems, their lesson from the debate in Reykjavik, during the Washington meeting the two leaders did not try to untie the Gordian knot on the critical question: Does the experimental testing of "Star Wars" clash with the ABM agreement of 1972 or not?

Probably out of pragmatic, but also tactical, reasons, this key dilemma and the stumbling block were implied in the formulations of the two sides after the conclusion of the meeting, saying that one should continue to work hard and persistently on individual controversial questions; that persistence and patience will obviously be necessary in other areas as well.

The two sides have made their views closer on a possible agreement [nagodba] to reduce intercontinental missiles to the limit of 4,900 warheads on ballistic missiles. This is a compromise between the American proposal of 4,800 and the Soviet offer of 5,100. The Soviets have also formally accepted the possibility that launch capacities of intercontinental missiles, including the heavy SS-18's, are reduced by 50 percent—it has been learned that the American side insisted on this part of the accord—just as the Americans agreed to talk about the limit of cruise missiles launched from the sea, which was what the Soviets insisted on.

What one should also add to the positive result of the meeting are some specific agreements about the method of controlling the reduction of nuclear potential at the both sides, in the style of the Russian saying that has been very popular here: Trust, but verify. Nevertheless, if we try now to make some final assessments, it seems to us that one can freely say that this time in Washington the military-technical side—despite the historic agreement on dismantling medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles—was somehow eclipsed by the political aspect of the meeting. Namely, despite the expected specific results, it seems to us that the satisfaction with the talks and with the entire atmosphere of the summit in Washington, which was expressed and has been reiterated so many times, is not incidental. One has the impression that the two statesmen, as well as the members of the negotiating teams, really felt that finally the climate had been created in which further negotiations could be held successfully. When assessing the individual contribution of the two sides to the creation of such an atmosphere, it seems to us that the score would be equal, something which is also strived toward in the talks on reducing nuclear potentials.

BORBA Disputes STERN on Waldheim Documents

AU111719 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 87 p 3

[V.N. Dzafo report: "STERN Was Not Here"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec—The TANJUG correspondent reports from Bonn that tomorrow's edition of the well-known Hamburg weekly, STERN, will carry excerpts from documents allegedly stored in Belgrade military history archives, which prove that Austrian President Kurt Waldheim was directly involved in war crimes in western Bosnia at the beginning of the war.

It emerges from these documents that Waldheim was responsible for setting up prisons for partisans and civilians and carrying out executions and other acts of repression. According to STERN, it was for this reason that Pavelic's independent state of Croatia gave him a high-level medal. STERN reporters supposedly had access to previously unpublished documents in the archives of the Belgrade Military History Institute.

We checked on the authenticity of what STERN obviously presents as a first-class sensation at the very same place where reporters from this Hamburg weekly were supposedly able to look into the previously unpublished documents—that is, at the Military History Institute in Belgrade.

In short, the STERN reporters had not been there. We were informed by this high-level military institute that they had neither been there nor conducted research in the institute's archives. Moreover, no foreign reporters at all had researched this topic in these archives.

At the Belgrade military history archives, they pointed out that the institute's documents are public, which of course means that they are registered and can be used by anyone who is interested.

The validity and preciseness of STERN's information were brought into question by another assertion by the Military History Institute: not one document in the archives concerning President Kurt Waldheim's war biography is what can be called classified. All documents and material for research and writing on this subject have by now been made available to historians, other scientific workers, and, of course, reporters (we are reminded that the Yugoslav press wrote about this extensively and in detail).

Dizdarevic Elected State Presidency Member

LD121306 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today elected Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic, (61), member of the Yugoslav State Presidency.

Dizdarevic will represent the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the country's collective leadership, made up of one representative from each of the six Yugoslav republics and two autonomous provinces and the Party Presidency president as ex-officio member.

Dizdarevic has been elected to the Yugoslav State Presidency in place of Hamdija Pozderac, who last September resigned as Presidency vice-president for "reasons of principle" after the discolosure of the Agrokomerc affair involving uncovered promissory notes.

The agro-industrial giant Agrokomerc of Donja Kladusa, western Bosnia, has dealt the heaviest blow to the Yugoslav monetary system since the war by issuing uncovered promissory notes worth nearly a billion dollars (in the national currency).

Prior to taking over as foreign secretary in 1984, Dizdarevic was secretary of the Council of Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President and Assembly of Yugoslavia President.

Serbian President Stambolic Relieved of Duties

LD141103 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the SR of Serbia has relieved Ivan Stambolic of his duties as president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia. This was announced today by Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, during a session of the candidacy conference of the Republican Conference of the Serb SAWP.

Presidency Decision Detailed

LD141223 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session on 14 December, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia discussed the situation that has arisen in connection with criticism publicly addressed against Ivan Stambolic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia. It also discussed the difficulties in the fulfilling the functions of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and in implementing coordination and cooperation between the organs and organizations of this republic. Proceeding from this and also from the consultations carried out in the organs and organizations in the republic, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, as announced, has made a decision to relieve Ivan Stambolic of his duties as president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia. The Presidency of the SR of Serbia expects that in his further work Comrade Ivan Stambolic will make his contribution to implementing the tasks of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia.

In addition to all the members of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, Nikola Ljubicic, a member of the Presidency of the SFRY, and the presidents of the organs of the republican sociopolitical organizations took part in the session, says the statement on the session of the Presidency.

Gracanin Nominated

LD141342 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 14 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 14 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Ivan Stambolic (51) has been removed from office but remains a member of the republic's top collective organ.

The decision was taken by the Presidency of Serbia after discussing difficulties in exercising its functions in the wake of recent public criticism of Stambolic.

In recent weeks, committees and basic organisations of the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) had increasingly demanded Stambolic's resignation of the strength of his "unprincipled support" two-and-a-half months ago for sacked president of the Belgrade Party Committee Dr Dragisa Pavlovic.

At the 8th session of the LCS Central Committee in September, Stambolic opposed the expulsion of Pavlovic from the Party Presidency and in this remained in the minority. He is especially criticised for bringing pressure to bear on the Presidency of the Belgrade City Committee by addressing to it a letter expressing support for Pavlovic.

The republican conference of the Socialist Alliance today proposed General Petar Gracanin (64) for membership of the Serbian Presidency and nominated him for the body's president.

Gracanin was chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army until 1985, after which his active service in the armed forces ceased.

Simic Interviewed on Role of Public Media

LD121723 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0936 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—In our view the public information media on the whole successfully carry out their exceptionally important and sensitive function. This was stated by Vice Admiral Petar Simic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, at today's

traditional meeting with representatives of Yugoslav public information media at the military academy of the land Army on the occasion of 22 December, Yugoslav People's Army Day.

We highly value, Simic continued, the contribution of the press, radio, and television in the struggle for overcoming the current social contradictions, for implementing the economic stabilization policy, for the democratizing social relations, and for developing creative criticism of weaknesses and problems which obscure the prospects for the struggle for a better future.

Taken as a whole, Simic noted, the public media reaffirm themselves as a significant and constructive means of the ideopolitical struggle we are waging under the leadership of the LC, even at this complex stage of the development of society. We in the Army, he added, also notice two negative phenomena.

In Simic's words, the first phenomenon is reflected in the fact that disintegration processes in society have arisen on the basis of the logic of polycentric etatism and other partial interests and have left a powerful impression on the information activity. All the analyses show, he added, that the unity of Yugoslav information and propaganda system has been disturbed and that these processes are developing on the well-known principle of six plus two.

The flow of information mostly stops short at republican and provincial borders, Simic noted. Numerous questions, even the ones on which there are clearly defined stands and orientation at all-Yugoslav level, are in his opinion differently interpreted and assume a regional and republican and provincial character.

There is no need to specify, Simic stressed, what difficulties this creates for the Army as an institution in which the information, political and overall work is based on universal social values and all-Yugoslav criteria.

The other negative phenomenon mentioned by Simic is the unprincipled and politically and socially unacceptable attitude and involvement of a smaller number of public media. [passage omitted]

There are also anticommunist attacks, Simic continued, on the self-managing system, the LCY and the state, party and Army leaderships of the country. Some information media, he noted, have sailed into the deep waters of the bourgeois concept of freedom and democracy and are calling for a separation in practice from the political system we develop and the ideology we follow.

Bearing in mind the enormous consequences of such a situation which are negatively reflected in the sphere of defense and self-protection, we in the Yugoslav People's Army give full support to the attempts of the LC and the information media themselves at ensuring the socialist orientation of all the public information media. [passage omitted]

We oppose any idealization of reality and also a fairly widespread practice that reality should be painted exclusively in dark shades, Simic said. Tactless and wrongly addressed criticism contributes to ideological confusion causing great political damage to the efforts of the LC and society to find solutions to the way out of the present crisis. [passage omitted]

Simic also drew attention to the increased number of features in which defense is treated in an inadequate and politically harmful and socially unacceptable way. In his words, this first and foremost relates to some youth papers.

A recent analysis of about 180 texts published in MLADINA and some other newspapers indicates that they contain about 50 negative stands on the concept of the All-People's Defense, especially on the Yugoslav People's Army and its leadership. These papers cast doubt upon the all-Yugoslav character of the Yugoslav People's Army and, in his words, demand a radical reduction in Army expenditure, searching for some excess cases.

They even go as far as attributing some sort of putschist ambitions to the Army, Simic stressed, and equating the system of All-People's Defense with the militarist type of Army organization. This is simply absurd, Simic pointed out.

In our opinion, the public word on defense should also encourage new efforts and new achievements because, Simic said in conclusion, in this world of power and continual danger to peace and security, especially of small and nonaligned countries, we must always be ready to preserve our own freedom, independence, territorial integrity, and the right to live in self-management, brotherhood, and unity.

LCY Central Committee Adopts Conclusions

LD102210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The communists are making a direct and responsible effort to implement measures for curbing inflation. This is possible only by eliminating its causes. There is an urgent need to look at all social subjects in the effort to revitalize production, enhance efficiency, increase exports, change the structure of the economy, provide opportunities for the productive employment of young people, consolidate the country's foreign debt on a longer-term basis, and create opportunities for raising the standard of living. These general commitments must be translated into specific plans of action in all environments. This is stressed in

the conclusions adopted at the 11th LCY Central Committee session that met on 7 and 8 December to discuss the ideopolitical issues of development in 1988 and the LC's related tasks. The following are the conclusions of the 11th plenary session:

Proceeding from the assessment that the economic crisis has deteriorated and become even more exacerbated, the LCY Central Committee warns of the serious nature of the present economic and political situation. The Central Committee points out that the priority task facing all LC members, organizations, and leaderships is to devote all their energies to ensure a consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress, the commitments from the long-term economic stabilization program of the LCY Central Committee's stands and conclusions, all of which constitute a comprehensive basis and criteria for activities and measures designed to extricate the country from the economic crisis and to open up prospects for the country's more successful socioeconomic and social development.

The LCY Central Committee stresses that our society's goal is not just to emerge from the economic crisis but also the creation of a more developed and richer socialist self-managing society, better quality of life and, by implication, better opportunities for meeting the working people's and citizens' everyday needs more comprehensively. To this end it is necessary to mobilize the working class, workers, and citizens in order to resolve more quickly material problems, to achieve higher efficiency in economic activity, and to generate higher income on the basis of the system of socialist self-management.

1. The LCY Central Committee obliges communists in all the system's organs and organizations to implement directly and responsibly all measures necessary for curbing and cutting inflation and stabilizing the economy on a longer-term basis. Curbing inflation is possible only if its causes are eliminated—a task that requires continuing and comprehensive action within society. To this end, it is necessary to engage all social subjects in the efforts to accelerate economic growth, enhance efficiency in economic activity, increase exports and income, restructure the economy, create productive employment, in particular of young people, consolidate the country's foreign debts and illiquidity on a longer-term basis, stabilize the market and maintain balanced price parities, provide social welfare and opportunities for raising living standards, and improve the economic system. From their state of general commitments these tasks must be translated into specific plans of action in all enviroments.

Communists must be determined in their efforts to ensure that all the changes in the development and economic policy and in the economic system are geared toward making organizations of associated labor, as independent producers of goods in a market and planned economy in which all production factors are realistically valued, capable of successful performance and efficient use of socially owned means, of relying on their own resources but being prepared to bear the risks of the effects of their own decisions as well as the responsibility for business results. The implementation of the policy of self-reliance is, especially at the present time, a necessary and inevitable factor of fulfilling our tasks at all levels of society's organization.

Through the involvement of all social factors and by proceeding from critical analysis of the situation, basic and other organizations of associated labor in municipalities, republics, and provinces have the task of assessing the position of the basic organization of associated labor and provide insight into all the consequences resulting from the introduction of real economic categories and of creating general equal terms of economic activity on a unified Yugoslav market. These bodies are also expected to formulate programs and measures for emerging from the difficulties. These programs must be in line with the stabilization policy.

The LC members, organizations, and leaderships must fight for the implementation of the adopted ideological stands that insist that the economy should be freed from excessive taxation and contributions in order to strengthen its material foundations through the changes in the economic system and other measures envisaged for 1988. At all the levels of society's organization, measures should be taken to destatize expanded reproduction and resolving more efficiently increasing problems of the lack of working assets by slating a greater part of total income for these purposes and reducing credit commitments. All this must be geared toward creating conditions for faster social and economic development, better working conditions and better life for our working people and citizens.

Communists in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, communities of interest, and other organizations and institutions of the system have the responsibility to ensure that all aspects of production are adjusted to real material potentials and brought down with the agreed boundaries. To this end, they must reexamine and reduce funds for financing sociopolitical communities, economic associations; reexamine the network of organizations and institutions of the political system, state organs, and in the public sector with the aim of economizing and closing down where justified and reducing overhead costs at all levels. Public sector development must be adjusted to the development of the economy and treated as a vital factor of increasing production and income.

All economic and social factors are expected to take specific measures and activities to fulfill both the strategy of the country's technological development and the strategy of its foreign economic relations. In addition, there is an urgent need for drawing up, adopting and

implementing long-term programs of development in agriculture, energy industry, transport, tourism, small businesses, and housing and utility services.

An analysis should be carried out promptly of the structural problems and directions proposed for structural changes in the economy.

The LC must involve itself in taking the necessary measures and actions for the consistent implementation of the ideopolitical decisions on the policy of the more rapid development of the economically underdeveloped republics and the fastest possible development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo by means of maximum reliance on our own resources, the pooling of labor and resources, and the support of the entire social community.

2. Within the framework of the program of measures and activities for bringing down inflation and stabilizing the economy adopted by the SFRY Assembly, it is essential that the LC and all social factors be engaged in the realization of the temporary intervention measures in the sphere of prices, expenditure, and the distribution of personal incomes. In this connection, it is essential to ensure a realistic oversight of the range of the intervention measures, specific monitoring, and timely reaction in removing disturbances in the process of reproduction, and the accountability of the competent organs for the timely proposal, undertaking and implementation of measures.

In the period of the implementation of the temporary intervention measures it is essential to realize consistently the orientations of the 13th LCY Congress and the long-term economic stabilization program by means of the maximum involvement of all compentent organs and social factors, to speed up the elaboration and implementation of the measures and solutions that will create conditions for the formation of prices according to market conditions and esnure stability on the market and in the currents of social reproduction. In the realization of these tasks it is essential that scientific and professional cadres and institutions be involved to a far greater extent.

It is necessary to act efficiently in accordance with the measures of the economic policy and through social action in order to resolve effectively the individual problems and difficulties in the organizations of associated labor, the branches and groupings of the economy and social activities caused by the application of the intervention measures and to create conditions for rational business operations and equitable conditions for economic activity on the basis of socialist self-management. It is necessary remove urgently certain weaknesses in individual laws, the law on overall earnings and income, and certain intervention laws that are creating economic difficulties for organizations of associated labor and that are causing dissatisfaction among the working class and working people in associated labor. At the same time, with these changes it is essential to encourage rational economic activity, an improvement in internal housekeeping, and the removal of the causes of losses.

It is essential that even under the conditions of the operation of the intervention measures we should realize the decisions on developing and strengthening the economic motivation of workers in organizations of associated labor for more productive and better-quality work and results of work in production and exports and increased income, which is of essential significance for a way out of the economic crisis.

3. The LCY Central Committee considers that the economic and development policy for 1988 should consistently realize the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the long-term economic stabilization program, that is that it should serve the development of socialist self-managing relations and lower inflation, create conditions for speeding up economic growth and increasing exports, and hasten the process of restructuring, modernization and stabilization of the economy and the efficient solution of social problems.

In the economic and development policy for 1988, it is essential that we develop the economic mechanism for transferring from a regime of temporary intervention measures to the normal and stable operation of the economy and functioning of the currents of reproduction in the spirit of the implementation of the 13th LCY Congress decisions and the long-term economic stabilization program. The mechanisms of the economic and development policy should be selective, stimulative and aimed at creating conditions for strengthening the self-managing positions of workers and organizations of associated labor as independent commodity producers, establishing equitable conditions for economic activity on the unified Yugoslav market, respecting market forces and the operation of the market, and for the gradual formation of prices according to market conditions, the strengthening of the material bases of associated labor and motivation of workers, an increase in exports and the increasingly wider involvement of the economy in the international division of labor.

4. It is the duty of the members, organizations, and leaderships of the LC to involve themselves fully in the changes in the economic system, including the monetary-credit system on the basis of changes in the Law on Associated Labor and the theses for the improvement of the economic system, which should be swiftly and efficiently implemented on the bases of the criteria set out by the 13th LCY Congress.

The SFRY Assembly should establish the specific time limits and exponents for the preparation of proposals and the adoption of individual solutions for changes in the economic system and in the development and economic policy, which must be carried out in 1988, taking into account the effects of their operation and making

timely improvements and overcoming particular difficulties that may arise in their preparation, proceeding from the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the long-term economic stabilization program. Within this framework, it is necessary to carry out the necessary reforms of certain parts of the economic system, and, above all, the systems of prices, taxation and contributions, and reforms in the housing and communal field. The organs in the federation should adhere to the deadlines established by the SFRY Assembly, should work out their own tasks, and should adopt measures for their timely implementation.

The Central Committee calls on the LCY Central Committee Presidium to engage itself in clarifying as soon as possible open ideological issues relating to changes in the economic system, such as the changes in the foreign exchange system, the financial system, the system of taxation and contributions, the system of the distribution of funds for personal incomes in accordance with the stances of the 24th LCY Central Committee session, investments by foreign partners and the formation of joint enterprises, the involvement of the funds of citizens and so on, so that these can be adopted on time and carried out in social practice.

5. The Central Committee calls on the organs, organizations, and leaderships of the LC to involve themselves resolutely in realizing the consolidation of the external debt of the country on a long-term basis. The basic task here is the increase of foreign currency earnings, particularly from the convertible currency area, for the realization of which it is essential to create the appropriate systemic conditions by improving the foreign currency system, by a policy of realistic exchange rates, by export credits, and other measures that strengthen the income-based motivation for greater exports. In realizing the consolidation of the foreign debt it is essential to proceed on the basis that it is necessary to reduce the burden of the debt and relieve foreign currency earnings of high repayments for balance of payments and development reasons, also taking account of the fact that only those economic and social subjects that are able to ensure the repayment of debts may assume further loans.

The realization of the program of consolidation of external liquidity is very directly linked with the implementation of the measures adopted for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy, for strengthening the material bases of associated labor for changes in the economic system that will create more favorable conditions and provide fresh stimulation for increasing production on all bases. This is why these changes should be implemented as soon as possible.

6. The Central Committee considers that the LC and all subjective socialist forces must involve themselves to eliminate all centers of financially bad debts and fictitious accounts in the business operations of organizations of associated labor, banks, and other beneficiaries of social funds. To this end, the consistent solution of the problems of uncovered internal debts is essential.

The LC and organs of the sociopolitical communities and other institutions and organizations must pay more attention and concern themselves more with the real problems of the serious material position of certain economic and other social activities with the aim of seeking solutions for a way out of the economic difficulties and for successful business operations on the bases of market forces.

The LC must, in this connection, call for the realization of the programs of financial consolidation of the economy and banks by means of decisive measures of economic policy and of social activity at all levels. The financial consolidation of the economy and banks in the Socialist Republics of Montenegro and Macedonia and the Socialist Autonomous Povince of Kosovo is of particular political importance.

Communists and all other social factors must engage themselves in bringing all sources of the emission of money and credits under the control of the institutions of the unified monetary system. Energetic steps must be taken against any form of irregular use of money and credits, and the responsibility must be heightened of all those who directly or indirectly brought about the difficulties in the functioning of the financial system.

It is of great importance that economic coercion and the consistent implementation of the law should ensure financial discipline, the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, guranteed controls of all monetary transactions and the legal use of bonds, bills and other promisory notes. The organs of the sociopolitical communities must carry out their tasks and functions efficiently with regard to their duties toward organizations of associated labor, particularly when it is a question of relations in business operations with other countries.

7. The LC must involve itself to the maximum and in a specific way, so that in organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities social welfare policy is established and carried out as a necessary part of economic activity and development, and so that on this basis social problems are resolved more rapidly and energetically through the elaboration and realization of the program of social security and protection of the standard of living of working people and citizens who are in a difficult material position. On conditions of the restructuring of the economy and the liquidation of unprofitable organizations of associated labor, it is essential to find solutions more quickly for retraining workers and for their employment and guaranteee of personal incomes or compensation for the period while they are unemployed.

It is essential to seek solutions at all levels, to secure funds in accordance with material possibilities and to implement measures of social policy and solidarity that will, as far as possible, protect the living standard of the most threatened working people, citizens, the unemployed, students, and pensioners.

The program of measures and activities to bring down inflation and stabilize the economy must be elaborated and made more specific from the point of view of the realization of the social and material security of workers in associated labor, the realization of guaranteed personal income, the guarantee of the necessary funds for subsidizing rents and accomodation costs, and taking other measures to alleviate the material position of workers and citizens with low personal earnings. To this end, the appropriate corrections in the accounting system must also be carried out.

8. The organizations and leaderships of the LC, at all levels, in the broad social activities in the SAWP, trade union organizations, delegate assemblies, organs of sociopolitical communities and other social organs and organizations, are bound to constantly monitor the situation in work collectives and to take urgent measures and actions with regard to work stoppages and other forms of dissatisfaction of working people in the economy, education, health service and other social activities. Everything should be done to solve problems on self-managing bases and, in keeping with the system, recognizing and removing the causes of possible conflict situations on time.

In resolving all the accumulated and open issues and in seeking solutions in the economic system, development and economic policy and in social practice, it is necessary to involve to a greater extent the scientific and professional potentials for basing solutions and moves in practice to the greatest possible extent on the results of modern science and technology according to the real possibilities and principles of socialist self-management.

The Central Committee stresses that overcoming the socioeconomic crisis and achieving socioeconomic development on the basis of the decisions of the 13th LCY congress and the long-term program of economic stabilization calls for organized efforts and united action by the working class and working people, the LC, the Trade Union Federation and all progressive forces of society within the framework of SAWPY in accordance with their autonomy and responsibility in energetically and decisively taking concrete measures and activities in the realization of political stabilization and the further development of socialist self-management.

At the present juncture, it is of decisive important that the LC should take the offensive, and be extremely responsible in dealing with all weaknesses in its own environments in society, and that it should persist in the struggle for efficient economic activity and further socialist self-managing development.

The Central Committee calls on communists and the organizations and organs of the LC to involve themselves in the consistent realization of the stances adopted at this session through changes in the economic system, the development and economic policy and in social practice, and particularly through the adoption and implementation of the resolution on socioeconomic development in 1988.

It is the duty of the organizations and leaderships of the LC to advocate the development and realization of concrete programs of activities in organizations of associated labor, the municipalities, republics and provinces, in which full prominence is given to reliance on their own resources and full accountability for the realization of the adopted orientations and stabilisation policy and the tasks arising out of these conclusions.

The Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LC leaderships of the republics and provinces must be fully responsible for implementing the established policies of the LC and the tasks arising out of these conclusions. They must also involve themselves to the maximum in resolving major economic and social problems and seeking a way out of the economic crisis along the lines of the consistent implementation of the decisions of the 13th LCY congress and the long-term program of economic stabilization.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Presidiums of the LC Central and Provincial Committees of the republics and autonomous provinces will establish concrete programs of activities with deadlines for their implementation.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium will monitor and encourage ideopolitical activity aimed at realizing these conclusions and will keep the LCY Central Committee regularly informed about this.